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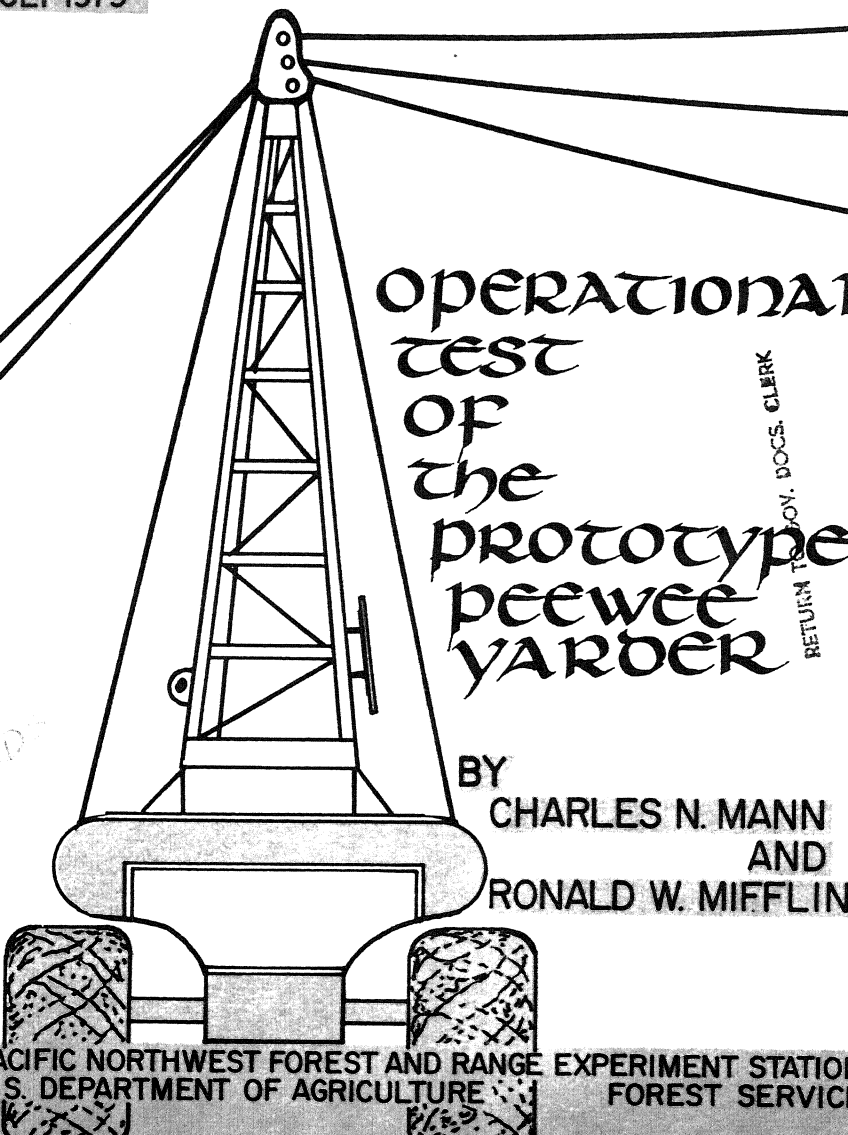

OPERATIONAL TEST OF THE PROTOTYPE PEEWEE YARDER

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ABSTRACT

An operational test of a small, prototype running skyline yarder was conducted early in 1978. Test results indicate that this yarder concept promises a low cost, high performance system for harvesting small logs where skyline methods are indicated. Timber harvest by thinning took place on 12 uphill and 2 downhill skyline roads, and clearcut harvesting was performed on 4 uphill skyline roads. Skyline roads were spaced about 46 meters (150 feet) apart and were up to 335 meters (1,100 feet) long. Delays caused by the yarder were insignificant. Production as high as 343 logs per day was achieved.

KEYWORDS: Logging equipment engineering, production studies(-forest operations, logging operations analysis/design, logging economics.

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Introduction

An operational test of the prototype peewee yarder was performed as part of a program to develop a system for harvesting small logs in areas where cable logging methods are required. The test was conducted at the University of Washington's experimental forest near Eatonville, Washington, by the Applied Physics Laboratory, a division of the University, on behalf of the Forest Engineering Unit of the Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station. The objective of the test was to monitor the productivity of the system in a logging operation.

A thinning harvest was performed on 12 uphill and 2 downhill skyline roads over a 6-week period which began on February 22, 1978; and another week was spent in a clearcut area on 4 uphill skyline roads.

The need for commercial thinnings and the magnitude of the task were described by Lysons (1975). He also listed the systems criteria and technical requirements for suitable cable logging thinning equipment. Consideration of these criteria and requirements established the design of the peewee yarder.

Yarding System

The peewee yarder operates a running skyline system as shown in figure 1.

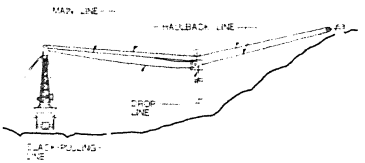

Figure 1.--Running skyline system.

The running skyline system was chosen because it provides a combination of features which are not available with other cable logging systems. These include: high mobility due to minimum rigging and small, light lines; versatility due to the ability to log uphill and downhill; and lateral yarding capability for partial cut operations which is provided by the slack-pulling carriage. General specifications for the yarder and yarding system are listed in table 1.

The prototype yarder (fig. 2) is mounted on a rubber-tired John Deere JD 640- cable skidder. Modifications to the skidder include removal of the winch and arch and installation of an oil cooler. The drum set is fastened to the skidder frame where the arch is normally located. A tower, with straw line and guyline drums, is mounted to the top of the drum set and can be lowered by hydraulic cylinders (fig. 3)

The drum set contains the main, slack-pulling, and haulback drums and the mechanism for interlocking the drum together. While details of interlocking drums are beyond the subject of this report, the peewee drum set is an advancement in interlock technology which

[1]Mention of products or trade names does not imply endorsement by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Table 1.--General specifications of peewee yarder prototype mounted on John Deere JD 640 cable skidder

Engine power	82 kilowatts (110 horsepower)
Span capability	366 meters (1,200 feet)
Lateral yarding capability	46 meters (150 feet)
Line speeds[1]	
Inhaul (slack)	3.8 meters/second (750 feet/minute)
Lateral yarding	0.76 meters/second (150 feet/minute)
Line pulls[1]	
Main	27,000 newtons (6,000 pounds)
Slack-pulling	20,000 newtons (4,530 pounds)
Haulback (interlock tension)	40,000 newtons (9,000 pounds)
Drop line	40,000 newtons (9,000 pounds)
Overall dimensions:	
Height (tower erected)	11.3 meters (37 feet, 0 inches)
Height (tower lowered)	3.7 meters (12 feet, 2 inches)
Length (tower erected)	6.5 meters (21 feet, 4 inches)
Length (tower lowered)	9.4 meters (30 feet, 8 inches)
Width	3.06 meters (10 feet, 1/2 inch)
Weight	19 958 kilograms (44,000 pounds)

[1] At mid-drum diameter on 366-meter (1,200-foot) span.

Figure 2.--Prototype peewee yarder.

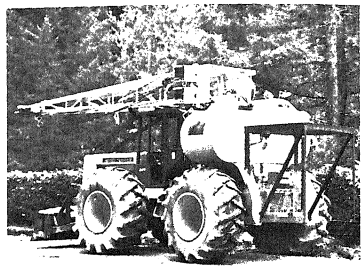

Figure 3.--Prototype peewee yarder with tower lowered.

simplifies control and reduces cost. For basic information on interlocked drum sets, refer to Mann (1977).

The yarder is driven hydraulically which eliminates the need for clutches and brakes. The three yarder control functions are operated by two levers. Speed and longitudinal direction of the carriage is controlled by one lever. The other lever is bidirectional and is used to raise and lower the carriage and control the drop line. All three control functions can be operated at the same time.

The operator's control station, enclosed by a protective screen, is located at the rear of the skidder. It is designed to allow the operator to unhook the turns, eliminating the need for a chaser. Additional levers at the control station operate the hydraulically driven guyline and strawline drums, hydraulic lift cylinders, and engine speed. An instrument box allows the operator to monitor skidder and yarder systems. A gage indicates interlock pressure which is a direct measure of haulback tension.

Two carriages were used during the test. The first was a conventional

mechanical slack-pulling carriage modified for 1/2-inch lines. It housed side-by-side sheaves for the drop line and the slack-pulling line. A problem was encountered as the slack-pulling line and drop line tended to twist or wrap around each other as they entered the carriage. Manual untwisting of the lines was often required to allow enough drop line to pass through the carriage to continue yarding. The twisting also resulted in kinked drop lines which had to be replaced.

Line twisting problems accounted for more delay time than any other problems encountered during the test. In an effort to reduce this problem, a second carriage (fig. 4) was designed by the Forest Engineering Research Unit. The primary features of this carriage are:

1. The sheaves are aligned in a plane, one below the other. This increases separation of the lines which reduces twisting and line wear.

Figure 4.--Slack-pulling carriage designed by the Forest Engineering Research Unit.

2. The lower carriage frame is hinged to allow the drop line sheave to separate from the pressure roller when a load is placed on the drop line. This prevents the drop line from twisting as it travels across the sheave.

Twisting problems were practically eliminated following the introduction of this carriage. Continuing design effort is expected to improve carriage operation and reduce carriage weight.

Test Site

Testing of the peewee yarder was conducted at the University of Washington Pack Forest which is managed as an experimental forest.

Yarding tests took place in a 50-year old stand of mixed Douglas-fir and red alder. The test site was on predominant Site III land with very irregular terrain and stand density. All merchantable alder was removed wherever practical. The Douglas-fir thinning and salvage removed intermediate, overtopped, and damaged trees. In areas where Douglas-fir was predominant, approximately 120 cubic meters per hectare (17 cunits per acre) were removed from an estimated stand volume of 420 cubic meters per hectare (60 cunits per acre).

Logging Layout

The thinning operation was conducted in an area of about 14 hectares (35 acres). The yarder was set up on 12 uphill and 2 downhill skyline roads which extended approximately at right angles to an existing haul road. Skyline roads were spaced about 46 meters (150 feet) apart. Span lengths varied from 113 meters (370 feet) to 338 meters (1,108 feet), the average being 243 meters (797 feet). Average slope of the spans ranged from 31 percent downhill to 24 percent uphill.

Yarding corridors were initially flagged from selected tailholds. Narrow corridors were cleared to allow passage

of the carriage and log loads. Trees to be removed were felled in a herringbone pattern which allowed logs to be pulled directly into the corridor.

The final test phase was a clearcut harvest of about 1.6 hectares (4 acres) of predominantly alder. Yarding took place on four uphill skyline roads which were about 150 meters (500 feet) long.

Logging Operation

The yarder was positioned in the haul road and maneuvered to align the fixed headblock with each skyline corridor. Two winch-powered guylines were attached to anchor trees opposite the direction of yarding. An additional fixed-length safety guy, attached to the top of the tower, was usually rigged to a third anchor. Tailblocks were hung in guyed trees although this was not necessary on all roads. Tail trees were rigged on weekends when the schedule allowed.

The crew consisted of a yarder operator and two choker setters. A loader with operator was needed to keep the small landings clear and to load log trucks. Some landings were steep enough to require the loader to hold the logs while they were unhooked to prevent them from sliding down the slope.

Test Description

The operational test consisted of monitoring production and productive and non-productive times during the logging operation. Records were kept of cycle times, pieces per turn, and estimated log diameters throughout the test. Log lengths, cycle element times, and yarding distances were recorded during limited periods.

The original test plan specified obtaining timber volume removed by measuring the log truck loads. Difficulties with this approach took place during the test. At the end of the test, a large portion of the logs remained decked at the site due to unavailability of trucks and scheduling difficulties. An estimate of the number of truck loads left at the site was made, but adding these estimates with the loads removed did not account for the total number of pieces yarded.

A partial explanation for the volume discrepancy may be found in the fluctuations in the alder market. Before the test began, there was a market for the alder pulp logs. By the time logging started, alder was no longer in demand. During the test, the alder market was intermittent and the minimum acceptable log size kept changing. For this reason, there were many alder logs yarded which were later considered to be unmerchantable and were not trucked out or included in estimates of remaining loads. Also, due to the small log diameters, many were broken by the loader at the landing.

Test Results

An estimate of the volume production rate was made by determining an average log size from test data and multiplying it by the piece rate. The average log volume for the thinning operation was found to contain 0.38 cubic meters (13.5 cubic feet). This gives a production rate of 14 cubic meters (4.9 cunits) per hour of yarding time and 9.9 cubic meters (3.5 cunits) per hour of total time. In the clearcut, the average log contained 0.48 cubic meters (17 cubic feet). The resulting production rate is 20 cubic meters (7.1 cunits) per hour of yarding time and 14 cubic meters (5.0 cunits) per hour of total time.

The piece rate is more significant than the volume production rate for estimating the yarder's production capability in timber of a different log size. Log size has long been recognized as the most significant variable affecting yarding cost and production (Mifflin and Lysons 1978). A maximum of 4 chokers were used in this test which resulted in an average of 3.5 pieces per turn. Average loads were estimated to be less than half the capacity of the yarder. Therefore, in similar yarding situations, the piece rate could be expected to remain fairly constant

until the average log size approximately doubled with a similar increase in the volume production rate. From that point on, the number of pieces per turn would have to decrease.

Table 2 lists the time spent in various activities during the peewee test period. The time categories listed are defined as follows:

Actual yarding.--The time during which logs were being yarded. Short delays of 10 minutes or less are included.

Road change.--The time spent rigging tail trees, moving the yarder, and stringing lines between the last turn on one logging road and the first turn on the next one.

Scheduled maintenance.--The time prior to the start of actual yarding in the morning and after lunch for fueling, yarder warm-up, and checking levels of hydraulic fluids and lubricants.

Unscheduled maintenance (yarder).--The time spent correcting a yarder malfunction which caused a delay of more than 10 minutes.

Unscheduled maintenance (lines, etc.).--The time due to delays longer than 10 minutes caused by some part of the yarding system other than the yarder.

Miscellaneous delays.--The time due to interruptions in yarding of over 10 minutes caused by problems not related to the logging system.

Table 3 lists the daily yarding hours and the number of turns and pieces yarded during the test. The average number of turns per hour and pieces per hour for the thinning and clearcut are also shown.

Cycle element times and yarding distance measurements from two uphill skyline roads in the thinning operation were used to produce the plots shown in figures 5 and 6. Cycle time was divided into: (1) outhaul, which began when the carriage started moving away from the landing and ended when it reached the chokersetters; (2) hook, including lateral yarding; (3) inhaul, which began when the carriage started toward

Table 3--Daily production

Date	Hours yarded	Turns yarded	Pieces yarded	Turns per hour	Pieces per hour
			-Thinning-		
9/23	7.37	80	848	10.9	33.7
9/29	5.95	46	245	11.4	41.8
9/23	7.45	94	321	12.3	42.8
9/24	7.37	40	133	5.6	20.2
9/27	7.33	46	301	12.6	41.9
9/28	10.72	100	66	13.3	32.5
9/1	7.15	70	246	10.1	34.1
9/2	6.58	78	196	11.7	30.7
9/3	5.45	58	182	11.0	33.2
9/4	4.75	36	127	11.6	35.1
9/1	6.91	56	203	8.1	29.3
9/8	9.42	80	161	14.7	47.4
9/9	8.43	70	203	11.2	36.8
9/10	7.77	60	190	13.8	43.4
9/11	7.45	68	329	9.5	30.8
9/14	6.76	68	226	10.7	37.4
9/15	7.68	68	264	10.2	37.0
9/16	6.18	61	206	9.3	34.0
9/17	7.63	86	378	11.9	41.2
9/20	6.78	81	89	14.2	49.7
9/21	7.33	16	68	18.5	43.6
9/22	7.63	49	147	7.8	26.6
9/23	7.66	53	343	12.3	45.3
9/24	7.37	69	106	9.1	33.1
9/27	6.82	63	304	12.2	43.9
9/27	7.11	51	170	7.0	23.7
9/28	7.42	66	167	12.7	44.6
9/30	7.33	66	267	9.0	36.1
9/31	4.57	43	156	9.6	34.7
			Average - thinning	10.7	36.9
			-Clearcut-		
9/3	6.00	67	246	11.2	40.8
9/4	5.98	66	226	10.7	41.1
9/8	6.67	81	319	12.1	46.8
9/9	4.42	44	175	10.0	39.8
			Average - clearcut	11.1	42.0
			Average - combined	10.7	37.2

Table 2--Time summary

Activity	Thinning		Clearcut	
	Hours	Percent	Hours	Percent
Actual yarding	163.9	71.3	22.3	70.6
Road change[1/]	37.0	16.1	4.9	15.5
Scheduled maintenance	11.1	4.8	0.5	1.6
Unscheduled maintenance (yarder)	.7	.3	0	0
Unscheduled maintenance (lines, etc.)	6.9	3.0	2.8	8.9
Miscellaneous delays	10.3	4.5	1.1	3.5

[1/] An additional 98 man-hours were spent on rigging outside of normal working hours.

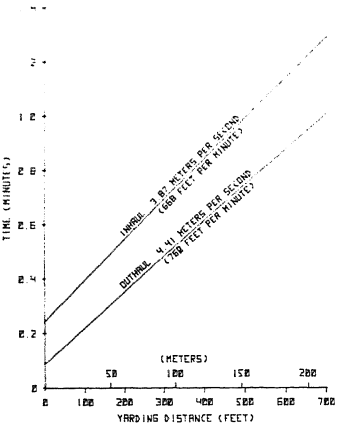

Figure 5.--Inhaul and outhaul times vs. distance.

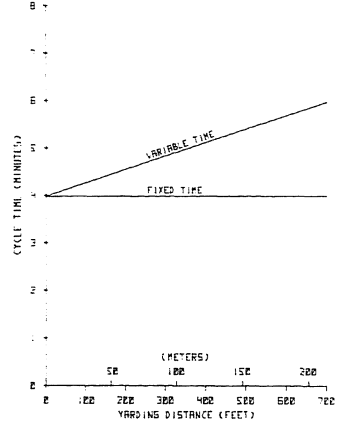

Figure 6.--Cycle time vs. yarding distance.

the landing and ended when the chokers went slack with the logs on the ground; and (4) unhook, which was the time between inhaul and outhaul.

Figure 5 shows the inhaul and outhaul time as a function of yarding distance. A linear regression analysis of the data resulted in the following equations:

Inhaul: $Y = .242 + .0049X$, $r = .910$

Outhaul: $Y = .088 + .0043X$, $r = .969$

where,

Y is time in minutes,
X is distance in meters, and
r is the coefficient of correlation.

The slopes represent an inhaul speed of 3.87 meters per second (668 feet per minute) and an outhaul speed of 4.41 meters per second (760 feet per minute).

Figure 6 presents a plot of cycle time versus yarding distance and was constructed according to procedures developed by Mifflin and Lysons (1978). The procedures were developed to provide cost prediction models for evaluating advanced logging systems. Cycle time is separated into fixed and variable times which can then be used to predict cycle times in different logging situations.

In figure 5, the inhaul and outhaul plots have a positive time value at zero yarding distance which indicates that some fixed time was included in these measurements. Therefore, total fixed time equals the inhaul and outhaul intercepts (time values at zero yarding distance) plus the average hook and unhook times.

Fixed time = intercepts + hook + unhook
= (.242 + .088) + 3.00 + .65 = 3.98 minutes

The variable time was obtained by summing the slopes of the inhaul and outhaul plots of figure 5.

Summary

The high production rate and lack of yarder-related delays clearly demonstrate the merits of a small running skyline yarding system for thinning where cable logging is desired. Crew size is reduced because the operator can act as the chaser, unhooking turns at the landing. Simplified controls reduce the training time required for an operator to become proficient. Location of the small yarder directly in the access road can result in minimal landing requirements.

The test also demonstrates the concept of a direct hydraulic drive, interlocked running skyline drum set. Problems with a prototype machine are the general rule in equipment development. The peewee yarder was an exception during the test. Problems with proven equipment such as the carriage and the radio signal system were the only significant causes of lost production time.

Production as high as 343 pieces per day were achieved during the test. Average loads were estimated to be less than half the capability of the yarder. This indicates that the production volume could have doubled given larger diameter logs and similar ground conditions.

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from it. It may not be easy for one living in the nineteenth century wholly to understand one living in the twelfth; for one outside the Roman Catholic Church fully to interpret one trained from infancy in that ancient Communion. It cannot be easy for any one of ordinary powers and labor clearly to exhibit, even to himself, an extraordinary genius for incitement and command, shown in an equally extraordinary work. But it is often ennobling to contemplate that which expands our thought even though surpassing it; and the writer of these Lectures, while quite aware of their many deficiencies, cannot but hope that others may be animated by them to studies in which he found for himself, long ago, and has found ever since, pleasure, instruction, and a happy inspiration.

Before closing this Note, he desires particularly and gratefully to acknowledge his indebtedness, not only to the Library of the Long Island Historical Society in Brooklyn, but to that of Columbia College, to the Boston Public Library, and to the library of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, for occasional use of important books not otherwise within his reach. The prompt courtesy with which every request for aid of this kind has been answered by those in charge of these libraries has laid him under frequent and great obligation.

The shadow of grief, as well as the glow of happy remembrance, falls on this volume as it finally leaves the writer's hands. He who was most solicitous to have the Lectures prepared, who welcomed them with an abounding sympathy, whose delightful home at

Princeton will be always associated in the mind of the lecturer with his repeated visits to it for the delivery of the course now committed to the press, has in the year just closing passed from the earth to grander and lovelier scenes beyond. An accomplished scholar, an admirable teacher, a wide-minded theologian, an earnest and a reverent Christian, a most cordial, loyal, and animating friend, was withdrawn from earthly circles by the death, before age had touched him, of Professor Caspar Wistar Hodge, D. D. One who knew him well, in his public work and his fireside life, and who will always recall him with affectionate honor till he meets him again in other spheres, counts it a sad pleasure to associate his name, familiar and beloved, with Lectures to which he had given warm invitation and a generous approval.

R. S. STORRS.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., October 10th, 1892.

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LECTURE I.

THE TENTH CENTURY: ITS EXTREME DEPRESSION AND FEAR.

LECTURE I.

THE TENTH CENTURY: ITS EXTREME DEPRESSION AND FEAR.

It is a pleasant office to which I am summoned, to present to you a few Lectures, not hastily meditated or planned though of necessity rapidly written, on the times and the career of the extraordinary man known in history as Bernard of Clairvaux. I cannot hope to set before you any multitude of facts connected with the theme, with some of which, at least, many among you are not acquainted. But I have a diffident hope of so reviving the impression of these facts, and so showing their significance by setting them in their just relations, as to leave a clearer picture than is commonly familiar, even among those not unused to historical studies, of one who exercised a remarkable authority in his own time, who contributed in an important measure to give direction and tone to its history, the effect of whose life outlasted its term, and whose name will not be forgotten while men still honor genius and virtue, exhibited in high action with supreme consecration.

I may perhaps be permitted to add that my reverent sense of the singular beauty and power of the man, and of the wide relations of his work, is by no means of recent beginning. For many years his figure has been to me one of the saintliest and most heroic on the can-

vas of European history; and my attempt now to present him, in connection with the critical and threatening times on which he set his signal mark, has its impulse in an enthusiasm which began long ago, and which does not fail as years advance.

Will you suffer me, too, to say a few words, at the outset of these Lectures, on the general usefulness of studies like those with which for a time I would occupy your thought?

To accustom one's self to a too exclusive contemplation of the past, whatever occasional splendid exhibitions of noble action or illustrious character it may present, is doubtless a sign and a source of weakness. It tends to give undue predominance to the historical imagination, while leaving the powers which are needed for immediate personal work without adequate exercise. It may subtly foster that timid spirit which is scared by the questionings and repelled by the contests of which each active century is full. Every man has his work to do in his own time, a work proportioned to his powers, matching his opportunity, and opening to him the real privilege of intelligent existence. To retreat from such work into a merely self-indulgent survey of past struggles, and of those prominent or principal in them, is to exchange duty for pleasure, obedience to conscience for alluring reminiscence. There is here a temptation to which studious men, especially those of a sensitive spirit, are always exposed; and it becomes only more seductive in times like ours, confused in thought, full of haste and violence in opinion and action, with an acrid and vehement controversial temper prevalent in it, a temper almost equally moved to sharpness of discussion over matters fundamental and matters superficial. Against such an in-

clination, to a withdrawal of our minds from what is presently before us and from its imperious moral demands, we must be watchfully on our guard. We may not retire to any hermitage in the past, to escape collision and avoid obligation, any more than we may fly from the land of our birth, however it echoes with clamorous debate or now and then rings with alarums of war, to find some dainty and shameful seclusion, free from strife and vacant of impulse, on tropical shores.

But while this is true, it is true as well that to bring a former period of time distinctly before us, to become familiar with its picturesque or presaging movements, to apprehend clearly the moral and intellectual forces by which it was either graced or shamed, above all to come into personal sympathy with those who wrought in it, with mighty endeavor, for noble ends, — this is an exercise of mind and spirit whose instruction and fine incitement can scarcely be surpassed. Our horizon is widened. The discerning and interpreting faculty in us is keenly stimulated, while multitudes of particulars are added to our knowledge. Whatever sensibility we possess to rare and rich chivalric properties in character or work is freshly awakened. Duty becomes more beautiful, and more commanding in its challenge. Our own possibilities, in narrower limits of faculty and influence, become more apparent, as we enter into intimate contact with the devout and heroical persons whose names are borne, lucid and eminent, above the turbulent series of the ages, — with men accomplished in the learning of their time, eager in its enterprises, effective in its councils, and who brought to it an ethereal temper surpassing its own, by which they became not only helpers of its progress, but founders and architects of whatever was best in it.

We do not always fully recognize the large opportunity thus set before us. We may not absolutely select our associates among the present multitudes who surround us. We may select them with unhindered freedom as we walk amid the populous spaces which history opens; and by any true moral conference with the gentle and gracious yet dauntless persons who have wrought heretofore with a supreme ardor for illustrious aims, we ought to be ourselves ennobled, our indolence being rebuked, our timidity expelled, a certain elasticity of vigor coming into our souls, with a gladder consecration to ideal ends. It is possible, at least, to catch something on our spirits of the rush of their uncalculating devotion; to take finer illumination from their spiritual insight; to feel a touch of the sovereign chrism of that communion with God in which they found their superlative strength. As we enter this fellowship with them we are released for the time from the petty and jarring strifes with which our passing years are vexed; we swing clear of confining limitations to region, custom, the prevalent proximate forms of opinion; we become in a just sense freemen of the world, partakers in struggles nobler than our own, humble associates of elect and anointed spirits. No romance, I think, can stir the soul, no lofty rhyme can so uplift it, as does this vital contact with minds now vanished from the earth, but the impulse of whose life continues with us, of the fruit of whose work Christendom partakes.

Nor is even this a sufficient account of the moral advantage of studies like that which I propose. Our times, which sometimes appear mechanical, commonplace, take deeper significance as we attentively consider the past; especially as we note the far reach of influence in those by whom its movements were chiefly affected. The tre-

mendous force which belongs to any great personality, and the sovereign persistence of its influence among men, become apparent. We gain a profounder sense of the unity of history, as continuous and organic. We see more distinctly the interdependence of centuries on each other, with our indebtedness to many who have labored and struggled before us. Above all, there comes to us a more exhilarating sense of the potency and promise which belong to each Divine element in the progressive education of mankind; and wherever we touch with reverent spirit the history of the Church, amid whatever outward confusions or inward clash of dialectic collisions, we are sensible of a certain majestic advance in the scheme of its development, and are freshly assured of the ultimate victory of that religion from which its life and energy have come.

Nothing is more impressive in history than the utter unreserve of power with which men have been moved, in different lands and in separate centuries, by an impulse from above, to strive as for their life for the supreme cause of righteousness and truth; while almost nothing is more apparent than are the assisting processes of Providence, moving before or succeeding such men, acting sometimes on occult lines, yet with a fit and opportune energy which brought its own abundant witness. The history of Christianity, as it lies before us in European annals, makes it evident as the day that with a mighty general progress, though undoubtedly with frequent sad interruptions, the spiritual life in persons and in peoples has been impenetrated with that heavenly force which came to the world in Jesus of Nazareth. Amid whatever infidelities toward the truth, whatever grossness of manners or sordidness of temper, or passionate fury against the "Shalt" and "Shalt not" of

God's law, the tender, majestic, and solemn facts presented in the Gospel are shown extending their sway, not over individuals only, but over the minds and policies of nations; and a multitude of consenting indications appear, pointing to their final universal acceptance among the children of men.

To the Christian student, here is really the most important of the lessons derived from the past. The gradual mighty upbuilding on earth of that Kingdom of God for which even they looked on whom had not dawned the light of the Advent, for which apostles and martyrs wrought, the vision of which exalted Augustine amid the wrecks of human empire, the vision of which never has passed from the prescient thought of great leaders in history,—this, to the mind devoutly looking backward, becomes as evident as any phenomenon of nature to the eye; while the saying of the illustrious Numidian is verified, that "as oppositions of contraries lend beauty to language, so the beauty of the course of the world is achieved by the opposition of contraries, arranged as it were by an eloquence not of words but of things."[1]

In like manner, the significance of our times, as connected with this Divine scheme for the world, becomes more evident, and the influence of the just apprehension of this is always inspiring. In a broad view of history, the immediate century in which we live ceases to be so undivine as sometimes it appears in an air filled with the whir of wheels, with smoke of factories darkening the sky, amid furious clamors of unimportant debate. Our years stand also in serious, in even momentous relations, with ages past, and with ages to come. The struggle of other times, in which fierce

[1] City of God, l. xi. c. 18.

greed or desperate ambitions were encountered by conquering inspirations of faith, prepared the way for the years in whose happier influence we delight. Whatever is best in our civilization is an inheritance from their laborious and painful acquisition; while the times which are to follow should take in like manner, if not in like measure, endowment from ours. God's plan in history no more contemplated the periods which are gone than it contemplates the cycle around us, of novelty in thought, of restless exploration, daring enterprise, an imperious democracy. As the Master was silently manifest in those times, through the motion of his Spirit in reverent souls, so is He revealed in our day, to those who read the mystic signs. As they had their vast problems to solve, their dangers to avert, their frightful evils to overcome, so we have ours; and as out of them great influence came, the issue of their travail, to invigorate and shape subsequent years, so, perhaps in a degree not inferior, may belong to our century a like privilege of power, if in it be the temper, of spiritual efficacy, which in them broke forth into mission or martyrdom.

The earth an arena in which God's purpose incessantly works toward the final aim of universal and holy peace; the centuries of history constituting but one terrestrial period, in which the experience of moral toil, struggle, and conquest continuously goes on; the convergence of all on the consummating age foreshown of old and surely coming,— these are lessons which constantly meet us in any interpreting survey of the past; and the most imposing and important of centuries, as human annals reckon importance, or those which appear most fruitless and mean, when rightly understood will equally supply these salutary lessons. Even the smaller

things in the record, which are easily overlooked, will have for us then their vital, sometimes indeed their cosmical meaning; since out of cloister and cell, out of field and workshop, as well as out of library, university, cathedral, out of millions uncounted of unremembered but consecrated lives, as well as out of state-debates, movements of armies, eminent careers, has come the Christian civilization in which we rejoice, in whose ampler light the past looks shadowed, but whose own imperfections will be clearlier shown as other centuries follow and surpass it. Nothing in history, which is true, is therefore to us unimportant. The humblest work, which was faithfully done, has borne its fruit. The age which appears least conspicuous, as we regard it from the midst of present confusions and hurries, will be sometime seen to have had distinct bearing on our years, and on those which are to come.

Certainly, with particular emphasis, this is true of those changeful and crowded centuries which began in the fifth, with the terrifying fall of the Latin empire in the West, and which closed in the fifteenth, with the loss to Christendom of the city of Constantine. It has been at times a fashionable folly to regard those ages as a dreary and barren parenthesis in history, full only of vehement clamors, prodigal carnage, lurid superstitions, prelatical ambition, — a period unattractive in itself, and with no more vital relation to our times than Nova Zembla has to the moral and commercial life of our towns. To skip this period, and pass at once from the Old World to the New, has seemed to many a wise economy. On the other hand, it was in fact a period full of stirring prophetic life, of indomitable energies, of moral battles and moral successes, — a period from which benefits come to every hour of our social or

political experience. In the vast providential commingling of what remained of the Roman civilization with the Teutonic and Slavic barbarisms, under the inexhaustible force of that Christian religion to which imperialism had yielded, and which barbarism could not subdue or expel, were evolved stupendous forces, spiritual and secular, which moulded States, produced literatures, fashioned and maintained religious establishments, put certain impulses into society whose influence is to-day unspent. I cannot think that the careful student of modern history will question the just perspective of Guizot, when he says, with philosophical deliberation as well as with ardent historic enthusiasm, that 'there is the cradle of modern societies and manners; that modern languages date from those times, with modern literatures, so far as these are national and original; that from thence are derived the greater part of the monuments now possessed,—churches, palaces, city-halls, works of art, and works of utility,—with almost all the great families which have played a distinguished part in affairs; while there are presented a multitude of important and splendid national events, which strike with ever fresh force the popular imagination.' It is, as he says, "the heroic age of modern nations. What more natural than its richness and poetic attraction?" [1]

[1] D'une part, il est impossible de méconnaître que c'est là le berceau des sociétés et des mœurs modernes. De là datent les langues modernes, et spécialement la nôtre; les littératures modernes, précisément dans ce qu'elles ont de national, d'original, d'étranger à toute science, à toute imitation d'autres temps et d'autres pays; la plupart des monuments modernes, des monuments où se sont rassemblés pendant des siècles et se rassemblent encore les peuples, églises, palais, hôtels-de-ville, ouvrages d'art et d'utilité publique de tout genre; presque toutes les familles historiques, les familles qui ont joué un rôle et placé leur nom dans les diverses phases de notre destinée; un grand nombre d'événements nationaux, importants en eux-mêmes et longtemps populaires, les croisades, la cheva-

What more natural, we may properly add, than that we should give, as opportunity offers, a closer attention to a period so full of vigor, contest, and in many directions, of noble achievement? a period which has left ineffaceable traces on subsequent centuries, and which cannot fail to be re-studied while history proceeds. It would be worth examination if only for the manifestation which it makes of the forces of human nature, the best and the worst coming equally to light, as secrets of the seas are flung into sight beneath stroke of tempests. It becomes more worthy of considerate study as we recognize the public tendencies there initiated or confirmed, or violently thwarted, the vast processes there set in motion, of thought and law, of national enterprise, or of victorious Christian advance. One speaks temperately in saying that to know that time is to gain a clearer and juster apprehension of much which has followed in Church and in State. It is, in fact, to trace to their roots many things which our age is proud to possess.

It is under the impulse of thoughts like these that I propose to set before you, as far as I may in this series of lectures, the life and spirit, the genius and work, of the great Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux; to set him distinctly amid the angry collisions of his time, and to show in a measure what influence he exerted on its princes and pontiffs, as well as on its general popular development. I am confident that the careful study of one whose place in his age was so distinguished cannot but be of interest to us. I hope, indeed, that it may

lerie; en un mot, presque tout ce qui a préoccupé, agité pendant des siècles, l'imagination du peuple français. C'est là évidemment l'âge héroique des nations modernes. Quoi de plus naturel que sa richesse et son attrait poétique? — *Hist. de la Civil. en France*, tom. iii. p. 222. Paris ed., 1846.

show its fruit in generous and ennobling personal suggestions. It is not the miracle of a perfect life which we are to contemplate; not a soul without weakness or sin into fellowship with which I would help you to enter. But it is certainly a significant fact that men of the most diverse opinions, as remote as possible in church relations, have conspired to offer to the Abbot of Clairvaux their tributes of honor. He was formally canonized in the Roman Catholic Church, as you know, by Alexander Third, a little more than twenty years after his death,[1] and a church-festival was established in homage to him. Those registered on the Papal catalogues of saints have by no means always attracted admiration in subsequent time. But in the instance of Bernard it does not surprise us that Thomas Aquinas, in the following century, should compare him to a vase of gold on account of his holiness, and to a multitude of pearls on account of the multiplicity of his virtues;[2] that Bonaventura should describe him as gifted with a sublime

[1] Vix a sacro ipsius obitu anni decem effluxerant, cum in concilio Turonensi, anno 1163 celebrato, sedente et præsidente Alexandro III., ea res primum agitari cœpit. At summus Pontifex, quamvis alioqui pro sua erga Bernardum veneratione libentissime annuisset, tantisper nihilominus differendam censuit ob eas rationes, quas ipse in litteris Canonizationis postea exposuit. . . . Incidit ergo Bernardi sacra inauguratio in diem 18 mensis januarii, anni 1174; ab ejus obitu viginti annis exactis, mensibus quatuor, et diebus viginti novem. . . . Sed jam summi pontificis Alexandri III. litteras, quibus inter cœlites ab Ecclesia relatus ostenditur Bernardus, proferamus. — *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. ii. coll. 2593–94.

The pontifical letters follow, to col. 2600.

[2] Aurum fuit omuibus os ejus de Deo loquendo ; multitudo gemmarum de moribus et virtutibus loquendo, de dulcedine contemplationis, et devotionis. . . . Fuerunt ergo labia ejus aurea, gemmea, et pretiosa. Vel aurum fuit beatus Bernardus per voluntatis sanctitatem ; multitudo gemmarum per morum honestatem, et virtutum multiplicitatem; vas pretiosum per virginitatis puritatem. — *Sermo in festi B. Bernardi ; Div. Thom. Aquin. Sermones*, p. 116. Venetiis, 1787.

eloquence, while of a temper so rich in saintly wisdom that not only his words are memorable, but his life is a constant example.[1] It does not surprise us that Baronius should speak of him as a true apostle of God, the stay and splendor of the whole Church, especially of the Church in France;[2] that the learned and devout Mabillon should count his writings next in value to the Scriptures themselves for religious minds;[3] that Bossuet should associate him as a witness for doctrine with the illustrious Fathers of the Church, and describe him as appearing, in the midst of barbaric ignorance, an apostle, a prophet, an earthly angel, demonstrated such by his preaching, his works, and by that spirit in his life which still surpassed his prodigies of power;[4] or that Martène, in the last century, in his

[1] Audisti igitur verba pulcherrima altissimi contemplantis, et orationum dulcedinem degustantis Bernardi. Rumines ea si vis, ut sapiant tibi. . . . Ipse enim fuit eloquentissimus, et spiritu sapientiæ plenus, et sanctitate præclarus; quem te desidero imitari, et ipsius monita et verba opere exercere, propter quod sæpe tibi propono eundem. — *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, cap. xxxvi. Opera, tom. vi. p. 361.

[2] Vere Apostolicus vir, immo verus Apostolus missus a Deo, potens opere et sermone, illustrans ubique et in omnibus suum Apostolatum sequentibus signis, ut plane nihil minus habuerit a magnis Apostolis. . . . Et qui dicendus sit totius Ecclesiæ Catholicæ ornamentum simul ac fulcimentum; Gallicanæ vero in primis Ecclesiæ prædicandus sit summum decus, summa gloria, summa felicitas. — *Annal. Eccles.* (Lucæ, 1746), tom. xix. p. 73 [an. 1153].

[3] Verum ex omnibus libris, quos possunt, aut debent monachi evolvere, nullus post sacra Volumina superest, qui majori queat ipsis esse emolumento, quemque præ manibus magis habere teneantur, quam Opera Divi Bernardi; . . . in hanc quippe mixta fluunt, quæcumque alibi dispersa occurrunt, nimirum soliditas, venustas, varietas, proprietas, brevitas, fervor, et energia sermonis. — *Tract. de Stud. Monast.*, tom. i. pars ii. cap. iii. § 2. Venet. ed. 1729, p. 117.

[4] Bossuet associates Bernard as a witness for doctrine with Augustine, Tertullian, Cyprian, Clement. — *Œuvres choisies*, tom. xv. pp. 264–295. Paris ed., 1823.

extensive visitation of monasteries, should note with particular and affectionate care every memorial of Bernard,— copies of his manuscripts, the cross at Vézelai in memory of him, the chair from which he preached at Sens, his chalice and chasuble, his tombstone, and his portrait. The remembrance of him was still so vital that it sanctified everything which he might be even supposed to have touched, for the diligent and studious Benedictine.[1]

But for us it perhaps enhances such eulogies that Luther also should speak of him as the most God-fearing and pious of monks, whom he held in higher love than all others;[2] that Daniel Heinsius, the famous and learned Secretary of the Synod of Dort, should call his "Meditations" a stream of Paradise, the ambrosia of soŭls, an angelic food, the quintessence of piety;[3] that the austere and accurate Calvin should describe him as a pious and holy writer, above his time, pungent and discriminating in rebuke of its errors;[4] while Neander, in our time, has pronounced an encomium on his century for having submitted itself to his moral authority.[5] Nor is it certainly without significance that even Voltaire should speak of him as able beyond others to reconcile occupation in the uproar of affairs with the austerity of life proper to his religious state, and as

[1] Voyage Littéraire. Paris, 1717. Prem. Par., pp. 23, 53, 60, 99, 104; Sec. Par., p. 205, *et al.*

[2] Table Talk, ccccxc.

[3] Quis suavius Bernardo scribit? Cujus ego Meditationes rivum paradisi, ambrosiam animarum, pabulum angelicum, medullam pietatis vocare soleo (Orat. 3). — *S. Ber. Opera*, vol. sec. col. 2618.

[4] Institutes of Christ. Religion, iv. 5, § 12; 7, §§ 18, 22; 11, § 11, *et al.*

[5] Nicht zu verachten scheint uns das Zeitalter, in welchem ein Mann, von keinem weltlichen Glanze umgeben, durch seine sittliche Kraft, durch die Höhe und Stärke seines Geistes sich so grosses Ansehen und so grossen Einfluss verschaffte. — *Der heilige Bernhard*, s 522.

having attained a personal consideration surpassing in efficacy official authority;[1] that Gibbon should portray him, in spite of an inveterate prejudice against saints, as standing high above his contemporaries, in speech, in writing, and in action, and making himself "the oracle of Europe."[2]

It can hardly remain a matter for doubt that one who was confessedly so conspicuous and so influential in the Christendom of his age, and who has attracted eulogies like these from writers so remote in time, character, opinion, especially in their relations to the themes and institutes of religion, must be deserving of our study. It cannot be otherwise than useful for us to set him distinctly amid his times, to see what mark he made upon them, and to trace as carefully as we may the secrets of that extraordinary power which all who approached him appear to have felt; which made him to them — which should make him to us — a true priest of God, ministering grace and force from above. If it be in its nature ennobling to meditate on a life devoted to sovereign ideals, to contemplate a soul ardent, intense, passionate in enthusiasm, while devout, self-forgetful, and wholly disdainful of worldly pleasures and of secular prizes; if any virtue may be derived from contact with a mind which dwelt habitually in the adoring contemplation of God, and to which the earth was not as real as were celestial realms above,— we ought, certainly, to be better and nobler persons for the hours which we spend with Saint Bernard. He will say to us still, as

[1] "Jamais religieux n'avait mieux concilié le tumulte des affaires avec l'austérité de son état; aucun n'était arrivé comme lui à cette considération purement personnelle qui est audessus de l'autorité même." — *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. lv. p. 206. Œuvres, Paris, 1877.

[2] Decline and Fall, vol. vii. p. 403. London ed., 1848.

he said of old in cloister or chapel to those who eagerly flocked around him, leaving all things otherwise precious for the delight of nearness to him: "If thou writest, nothing therein has savor to me unless I read Jesus in it. If thou discoursest or conversest, nothing there is agreeable to me unless in it also Jesus resounds. Jesus is honey in the mouth, melody in the ear, a song of jubilee in the heart. He is our medicine, as well. Is any among you saddened? Let Jesus enter into his heart, and thence leap to his lips, and lo! at the rising illumination of His name every cloud flies away, serenity returns."[1] His written words may still impress us, as they did those who heard them at first: "Not without reward is God to be loved, though He is to be loved without the expectation of reward. True love is wholly satisfied in itself. It has a reward, but the reward is in the object which is loved."[2] "To whom may I more fitly live than to Him except for whose death I should not live? But I serve Him in perfect freedom, since love gives liberty. Serve you, also, in that love which casteth out fear, which feels no labors, is conscious of no merit, asks no price, and which yet has in it more urgent impulse than everything else. This will join you inseparably with me; it will mani-

[1] Aridus est omnis animae cibus, si non oleo isto infunditur; insipidus est, si non hoc sale conditur. Si scribas, non sapit mihi nisi legero ibi Jesum. Si disputes aut conferas, non sapit mihi, nisi sonuerit ibi Jesus. Jesus mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde jubilus. Sed est et medicina. Tristatur aliquis vestrum? Veniat in cor Jesus, et inde saliat in os; et ecce ad exortum nominis lumen, nubilum omne diffugit, redit serenum. — *Vol. prim., Scr. in Cant.*, xv. 6; col. 2744.

[2] Non enim sine præmio diligitur Deus, etsi absque præmii intuitu diligendus sit. . . . Verus amor se ipso contentus est. Habet præmium, sed id quod amatur. — *Vol. prim., Tract. de dilig. Deo.* Cap. vii. § 17; col. 1343.

fest me immediately to you, dearest Brethren, most longed for, especially in the hours when you pray."[1]

Let us try to bring this man, in his personal image, plainly before us, and to set him clearly amid the times in which he lived, since it was by the constant demand of those times upon him, with the responsive impact upon them of his energetic and conquering spirit, that his faculties were trained, his personal character was unfolded and matured, and his work made of memorable effect. No effort of the imagination can present any tolerable picture of Bernard except as it places him in close association with the age which felt his impress; and even his particular century needs to be exhibited in that which it had taken from previous times, and in that which it gave to those that came after, that we may have a fair impression of his almost unique career. It is a crude and careless fancy which imagines the several centuries which passed within the time-limits that I have indicated to have been equally ignorant, stolid, sordid, proceeding on a dreary level of sluggish dulness, no one being specially differenced from others, and no one offering an opportunity beyond others for noble work. On the other hand, the differences between those centuries were vital and profound; one of splendid achievement being followed by others of decadence or downfall, in which the life of Christendom seemed threatened, while these in turn gave place to others of larger promise, and in the issue affecting with benefi-

[1] Cui enim justius vivam quam ei, qui si non moreretur, ego non viverem? . . . Sed servio voluntarie, quia charitas libertatem donat. Servite in charitate illa, quæ timorem expellit, labores non sentit, meritum non intuetur, præmium non requirit; et tamen plus omnibus urget. . . . Ipsa vos mihi inseparabiliter jungat, ipsa me vobis jugiter repræsentet, horis maxime quibus oratis, charissimi et desideratissimi fratres. — *Vol. prim., Epist.* cxliii. [ad Suos, Claræ Vall.] col. 354.

cent impulse the subsequent time. It was in one of the latter periods, as thus morally distinguished, that Bernard found his place and his work.

He was born in the year A.D. 1091; twenty-five years after the Norman conquest of England; eighteen years after Hildebrand had been consecrated Pope, under the title of Gregory Seventh; while Philip First, the third successor of Hugh Capet, was in the midst of his long reign of almost half a century in France. The time in which his life was cast was separated thus by an interval of three hundred years from that age of Charlemagne which still remains prominent and brilliant in European annals, while the interval had been one, to an extent never surpassed, of fear, of gloom, almost of despair, out of which neither the Church nor the State had fully emerged. An influence from the remoter century still survived, however, in the West. It had prompted whatever effort had been made for better things in the period now closing; and in Bernard's time there was a certain moral life, a certain responsiveness to moral impression, in men and in society, which had not equally appeared a century before, while yet the perils of his age were so great, its shames so many, that certainly none since Christendom began has more needed the mightiest ministry which genius, virtue, and a consummate devotion could supply. To set the character of his time clearly before you will not be difficult, but it will ask your patience for an attentive review. Such confused, imperious, turbulent elements as it presents, in tumultuous combination or in angry collision, cannot be understood without retracing the centuries out of which they had come, and the mark of whose disordered and passionate life was palpably upon them. One would not delay for this if it could be avoided, but I see not

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The lowest p... Europe since the ... fracturing of the ... was that which i... beginning of the ... For the tenth of t... been a common n... His description ... also fitly and frequ...

...ch the man we must know the ...ture was majestically exerted, ...still sheds its lustre; and we ...ut knowing, in general, out of ...forces its life had come.

...it is wholly impossible within ...or a couple of lectures, to de...ineate with sufficient fulness the features of the cen... ...can only outline, in a rapid ...ominent courses of experience ...ey had moved, with the rude, ...working in them, a part of ...the ebullient and violent life, ...s, military, political, in the ...place Bernard. To paint in ...were a task from which most ...To exhibit any distinct pano... ...period which preceded his ...ult, which must still be at... ...for grace of movement, or ...hand which tries it.

...h civilization has reached in ...nd a half which followed the ...empire by Odoacer, A.D. 476, ...the end of the tenth and the ...of the Christian centuries. ...cially, "The Iron Age" has ...history since Baronius wrote. ...the "saeculum obscurum" is ...epeated.[1] It is not difficult to

[1] Novum inchoatur ... ferreum, malique exudar... rum appellari consuevit ... xv. p. 500. Lucae, 174...

...a asperitate, ac boni sterilitate ...plumbeum, atque inopia scripto... BARONIUS: *Annal. Ecclesiast.*, tom.

trace the events which had led to this disastrous consummation; and it is the more needful to do this because that century followed a period, after no long interval, of surprising achievement and extraordinary promise.

The invasion of central Europe by the Saracens, who had conquered large parts of Spain and of southern France, and who thence had swarmed forth for the conquest of the Continent, had been arrested, as all are aware, by Charles Martel, in the shattering victory gained by him on the famous field between Poictiers and Tours, in the early autumn of A.D. 732, when the "victorious line of march," which, as Gibbon says, "had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire," was finally broken, by "the breasts which were like solid ramparts, and the arms which were iron."[1] There was thenceforth no formidable threat that Asia and Africa might subjugate Europe, that the Arab might be lord of the Teuton and the Briton, or that the interpretation of the Koran, according to the startling fancy of the historian, might be taught in the schools of Oxford, and "her pulpits demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet." It suggests a lesson not unimpressive of our unconscious indebtedness to the past, that men who could have known little of England, and nothing of this continent, should by their courage, constancy, and sacrifice, have saved both in the subsequent centuries from indescribable moral disaster. Our churches, colleges, Christian homes, have root and nutriment to this hour in the soil soaked with the blood of those who fought eleven

[1] Decline and Fall, vol. vii. pp. 17-22. London ed., 1848.

and a half centuries ago, in that fierce and fateful battle.[1]

One greater than Charles, Charlemagne his grandson, at the beginning of the ninth century, had done a greater work than his, also intimately connected with the rescue and progress of civilization. It is possible, no doubt, perhaps it is common, to place an extravagant estimate on the achievements of this extraordinary man — "the genius of the Middle Age" — in connection with the development of Europe. Sismondi's cautious and discreet praise may represent the truth with more exactness than do the exuberant eulogies of others. It is certainly true, as that discriminating historian suggests, that the signal brilliance of the reign of the great emperor shines more brightly, like that of a sudden and splendid meteor, because of the darkness which had preceded and which followed it;[2] and it is perhaps

[1] Dr. Arnold's estimate of the importance of the victory of Charles Martel is indicated in a passage of his "History of the later Roman Commonwealth:" "If this be so [that unchecked Roman successes in Germany would have Latinized the Teutonic tribes] the victory of Arminius deserves to be reckoned among those signal deliverances which have affected for centuries the happiness of mankind; and we may regard the destruction of Quintilius Varus and his three legions on the banks of the Lippe as second only in the benefits derived from it to the victory of Charles Martel at Tours over the invading host of the Mohammedans." Chap. xi. p. 468. New York ed., 1846.

[2] Le règne de Charlemagne est un grand météore qui brille dans l'obscurité, à un trop grand éloignement pour que nous puissions l'étudier et le comprendre. On est frappé de son éclat que précédèrent et que suivirent d'épaisses ténèbres; on l'admire, mais on ne sauroit calculer ses effets, mieux que reconnoître ses causes, et l'on ne peut même affirmer s'il fut avantageux ou pernicieux pour l'humanité. — *Hist. des Français*, tom. ii. p. 421. Paris ed., 1821.

Guizot's estimate of Charlemagne's work differs from this; but he adopts the same image of the meteor, and likens the empire of Charlemagne to that of the first Napoleon. Hist. de la Civil. en France, tom. ii. pp. 110–113. Paris ed., 1846.

equally true that his vast schemes had in them too large an imaginative element to be capable of effective accomplishment at a time so early and so rude. But whatever criticism may be made on his plans and his career, and however fully it must be admitted that his masterful intellect and inexorable energy were indispensable to his plans, while they could not naturally survive himself, it remains true that his work was of immense and permanent significance, and of cosmical value; that it showed the possibility, at least, of securing on the Continent public order with regulated liberty; and that, if it did not lay solid and enduring foundations for these, the fault was rather in the weakness and incoherence of his materials than in his own prudence and plan. He anticipated his age in his large conceptions; and the peoples were not ready for those general effects which were governing aims both in his counsels and in his campaigns.

I could not, of course, even if moved to it, delineate his work in any detail. It is enough to remind you that in more than fifty great military expeditions he conquered a large part of Italy, down almost to Calabria; he practically delivered Spain from the Saracens between the Pyrenees and the Ebro; he subdued the Bavarians and the Saxons, and compelled them to accept what was then known as Christianity in Europe; he extended his empire over Bohemia and Carinthia, fought the Slaves, and repulsed in the ancient Pannonia the fierce Avars who had become a terror to every people striving toward better civilization. He gave, for the time, territorial security to central and western Europe, from the North Sea to the Tiber, from near the Iron Gate of the Danube westward to the ocean; and when he returned to Aix-la-Chapelle, after being proclaimed

Emperor of the West at St. Peter's in Rome, on Christmas-Day in the year A.D. 800,[1] his dominions embraced substantially two thirds of the ancient western Roman empire, including German lands which that empire never had conquered, while the forces at his command for compacting the unity and extending the area of these dominions had been hardly surpassed by those of any, in any age, who had worn and sullied the imperial purple.

His expeditions, you observe, were not mere raids, but were organized campaigns, designed to accomplish permanent effects. In a measure, they did accomplish such; and though it is true, as Guizot has said, that the disorder which confronted him was not only immense but at the time unsubduable, so that when repressed at one point it broke forth at another the moment his terrible will was withdrawn, it is also true, as the grave historian reminds us, that all the States which sprang from the subsequent dismemberment of the Empire were founded by these wars of Charlemagne. Only in consequence of these wars did such States, rising from the scarred battle-fields of swarming barbarians, become

[1] Ipse autem cum die sacratissima natalis Domini ad missarum solemnia celebranda basilicam beati Petri apostoli fuisset ingressus, et coram altari, ubi ad orationem se inclinaverat, adsisteret, Leo papa coronam capiti eius imposuit, cuncto Romanorum populo adclamante: *Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato magno et pacifico imperatori Romanorum, vita et victoria!* Post quas laudes ab eodem pontifice more antiquorum principum adoratus est, ac deinde, omisso Patricii nomine, Imperator et Augustus appellatus. — EINHARDI: *Annales*, an. 801.

The long-abiding tradition was broken through; a barbarian received the diadem; the Roman pontiff spoke the words, the Roman people echoed them, — "Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Romanorum Imperatori, vita et victoria." The German was at last Augustus. — E. A. FREEMAN: *Chief Periods of European History*, p. 105. London ed., 1886.

actual and lasting.[1] In view of this effect, one need not hesitate to join in the words which the historian elsewhere uses, which are more emphatic because of the temper of philosophical reserve in which he commonly wrote: "No sovereign, no human being, perhaps, ever rendered greater service to the civilization of the world."[2]

But the military work of Charlemagne was never ultimate in his plans. It was designed to be conditional and directly tributary to a work of more essential importance, more difficult and extensive, in the realms of social and political life. He convened national assemblies, nearly forty of which are particularly enumerated, meeting commonly in cities not far from the Rhine. At these assemblies reports were received from different regions; inquiries were made as to their temper, needs, and respective opportunities; and out of the answers to such inquiries came what are known as the "capitularies," or little chapters, of the Emperor, containing a multitude of what are essentially administrative rules. They constitute, as Gibbon noticed, rather a series than a system, while they concerned all sorts of matters, as he also sneeringly observed,— "the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his [the Emperor's] farms, the care of his poultry,

[1] Malgré l'unité, malgré l'activité de sa pensée et de son pouvoir, le désordre était autour de lui immense, invincible: il le réprimait un moment, sur un point; mais le mal régnait partout où ne parvenait pas sa terrible volonté; et là où elle avait passé, il recommençait dès qu'elle s'était éloignée. . . . Après lui, de vraies barrières politiques des États plus où moins bien organisés, mais réels et durables, s'élèvent; les royaumes de Lorraine, d'Allemagne, d'Italie, des deux Bourgognes, de Navarre, datent de cette époque. — *Hist. de la Civil. en France*, tom. ii. pp. 122, 121.

[2] History of France, vol. i. p. 252. Boston ed.

and even the sale of his eggs."[1] But they exhibit the first distinct attempt to revise and harmonize the laws of the diverse peoples who had been brought beneath his authority, and to promulgate salutary rules equally affecting separated regions; and some of them, certainly, are marked not only by civil wisdom but by a governing Christian purpose. The mind and spirit of the Emperor appear in them more distinctly than in his wars.

Of the eleven hundred and fifty articles known to Guizot he reckoned eighty-seven as being of moral legislation, two hundred and seventy-three of political, one hundred and thirty of penal, one hundred and ten of civil, eighty-five of religious, three hundred and five of canonical, seventy-three of domestic, and twelve of incidental occasional rules.[2] The initiative in these rules proceeded, of course, always from the Emperor,

[1] Decline and Fall, vol. vi. p. 239. London ed., 1848.

[2] See the Analytic Table in Guizot, "Hist. de la Civil.," tom. ii. pp. 138–139. Paris ed. 1846. Instead of the 65 capitularies, with 1,150 articles recognized by Guizot as belonging to Charlemagne, Boretius ("Capitularia Regum Francorum") computes them at 113, containing 1,484 articles. The dates of many are uncertain, however, though some which have been attributed to following kings may perhaps be more justly ascribed to the great Emperor. The originals have for the most part long disappeared, and the copies are widely scattered.

Acta ista majoris momenti in palatio regio schedis membranaceis inscripta, atque ad universorum notitiam aut in placito publico proposita, aut per singulos archiepiscopatus episcopis, abbatibus et comitibus quæ populo proponerent transmissa, etc. . . . Et authentica quidem, sive palatina sive in provincias transmissa, omnia fere perierunt, excepta scilicet scheda teneræ membranæ hodie in monasterio S. Pauli in Karinthia superstite, et Riculfi archiepiscopi litteris encyclicis in monasterio S. Galli adservatis. At libri juris ecclesiastici vel mundani quibus capitularia inscripta habentur, complures tam in Germania et Italia quam in Gallia et marca Hispanica exarati, ad nostra usque tempora devenerunt. — PRÆF. PERTZ : *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, tom. iii. p. xii.

while to him belonged the definitive decision, though an influence upon them may doubtless have been exerted by other minds.

To assist in the administration of affairs under these rules, and to keep himself informed of what needed his attention, Charlemagne sent imperial commissioners throughout his dominions, while he unweariedly traversed them himself, multiplying the impression in every quarter of his ever-present and unlimited authority. He protected yet regulated religion itself, with a strong bent toward securing sincerity in its teachers, and the useful effect of it on the people. He set forth an improved Book of Homilies for use in the churches. He presided in synods and directed their discussions, wrote letters of instruction or sharp admonition to abbots, bishops, on occasion to popes, looked after religious establishments, and as far as might be controlled their manners; while at the same time he sought diligently to stimulate industry and extend commerce, and undertook himself large public works, as the building of bridges, or the construction of the canal designed to connect the Rhine and the Danube. It marks almost equally the character of the man and that of his times that one of his capitularies insists emphatically on the duty of hospitality; that another enjoins it on each subject to govern himself by the precepts of God, doing Him service, since the Emperor cannot personally look after all; that another forbids the veneration of questionable saints; another proclaims that nobody must think that acceptable prayer can only be offered in one of three languages [Hebrew, Latin, Greek ?], since God may be worthily adored in any tongue, and whoever asks for right things will be heard; while still another commands

that preaching be always of a sort which plain people can understand.

In manifold ways the great Emperor vigorously advanced the interests of learning. Though not perhaps able to write himself, certainly not with ease and skill, having acquired the art too late in life,[1] he undoubtedly read and spoke Latin and understood Greek, and he showed with constant stress his regard for good letters. He founded many schools, especially in connection with convents or cathedrals, and enjoined that in them no distinction be made between the son of the free-born and the son of the serf. He caused to be made the first grammar of the common dialect, with the first collection of German songs, reciting heroic German deeds.[2] He cultivated the arts, especially those of architecture and

[1] The words of Einhard [Eginhard] seem decisive as to the Emperor's inability to write, — except slowly, with difficulty: Nec patrio tantum sermone contentus, etiam peregrinis linguis ediscendis operam impendit. In quibus Latinam ita didicit, ut æque illa ac patria lingua orare sit solitus; Græcam vero melius intellegere quam pronuntiare poterat. . . . Discebat artem computandi et intentione sagaci siderum cursum curiosissime rimabatur. Temptabat et scribere tabulasque et codicellos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum litteris effigiendis adsuesceret. Sed parum successit labor præposterus ac sero inchoatus. — EINHARDI: *Vita Karoli M.*, cap. 25.

Ampère, however, believes this to apply only to the finer and more difficult style of writing practised by skilled copyists: "Je crois qu'il est question ici, non de la simple écriture, mais de la calligraphie." (Hist. Litt. sous Charl., p. 35, Paris ed., 1870.) In the Convent Library of the Abbey of St. Gall, near Constance, — perhaps the most famous school in Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries, — are preserved what purport to be tablets on which he wrote his difficult copies, the tablets being enclosed in ivory, elaborately carved, and set in metallic frames encrusted with precious stones. Some marginal notes, said to be by him, are also on a Psalter in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

[2] Omnium tamen nationum quæ sub eius dominatu erant jura quæ scripta non erant describere ac litteris mandari fecit. Item barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus ac bella canebantur,

music. It was by him that the Gregorian chant was introduced into central Europe, in place of the Ambrosian which had preceded it, and which only slowly gave way before it. Through his effort, and especially by the schools of music established by him, the churches became possessed of a richer ecclesiastical song, and to him we are indebted for an effect in this direction which has not ceased.[1]

Especially he sought to gather around himself men of fine parts and of eminent learning, that he might be instructed and the mind of his empire be enriched. So he brought Alcuin from England, Peter of Pisa and Paulus Diaconus from Italy, and associated with them Angilbert, Adalhard, Théodulf, and others, thus forming the "School of the Palace," in which all the learn-

scripsit, memoriæque mandavit. Inchoavit et grammaticam patrii sermonis. — *Vita Kar. M.*, cap. 29.

Ampère's comment on these efforts of the great Emperor is certainly a just one: "Cette idée de faire la grammaire d'un idiome réputé barbare, montre la supériorité d'un esprit qui ne se laissait pas fasciner par le mérite des langues d'antiquité, au point de ne pas comprendre que sa langue maternelle pouvait être cultivée. . . . On a vu qu'il fit recueillir de vieux chants nationaux; or, il fallait, pour concevoir une telle pensée, une grande hauteur et une grande liberté d'esprit." — *Hist. Litt. sous Charl.*, p. 38. Paris ed., 1870.

[1] Parmi les enseignemens que Charles prit à tâche d'introduire d'Italie en France, il mettoit beaucoup de prix à la musique de l'Église. C'étoit une conséquence de son zèle religieux. L'Église gallicane et germanique demeuroit attachée au chant ambrosien, de préférence au chant grégorien adopté à Rome. . . . Mais Charles leur imposa silence en leur faisant observer que l'eau d'une rivière étoit plus pure à sa source que dans les canaux qui en sont dérivés, et que Rome étant la source de toute sagesse divine, il falloit réformer le rite gallican sur le rite romain. Il se fit ensuite donner par Adrien deux maîtres de chant; il en garda un pour sa chapelle, qu'il conduisit avec lui de province en province; il voulut que l'autre fût stationnaire à Metz, afin d'y fonder, pour toute la France, une école de chant ecclésiastique. — SISMONDI: *Hist. des Français*, tom. ii.

ing of the time was designed to be represented, and in which he with his household became scholars. He collected also a library, limited, of course, in the number of its manuscripts, but for the time costly and precious. He studied rhetoric for himself, with mathematics and astronomy, was conversant with the sacred writings, and read Augustine with delight, especially the "De Civitate Dei." The French language took strong impulse to development in his time, the earliest written exhibition of which is found by historians in the oath taken by Louis of Germany toward Charles the Bald, A.D. 842. Even Gibbon admits, who is usually frigid and unfriendly toward the Emperor, that his "encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on the character of Charlemagne." [1]

Not France alone, or Germany, took impression from this extraordinary man. He largely influenced England, while he towered over the Continent as Mont Blanc over the lesser peaks and ridges rising around it. It has been supposed to be in remembrance of him that long after his death the epithet "Magnus," incorporate with his name, continued a frequent individual designation in the far Scandinavia. The East as well as the West honored his pre-eminence; and Haroun Al Raschid,

[1] Decline and Fall, vi. 241.

Ozanam's testimony is more justly emphatic: —

Dans ce long règne de Charlemagne, il faut admirer bien moins la force de son épée que celle de ses convictions. . . . Ce conquérant, ce législateur, ce souverain de vingt peuples mal unis, est possédé de la curiosité qui trouble le sommeil des savants. Au moment où il émeut tout l'Occident du bruit de ses premières victoires, il reprend en sous-œuvre ses études incomplètes. . . . Ce sont les occupations, non d'un sophiste couronné, inaccessible aux affaires comme les empereurs de Constantinople, mais du plus actif des hommes, qui mit fin à cinquante-trois expéditions militaires, et qui chaque année tenait en personne ses plaids généraux. — A. F. Ozanam: *La Civil. Chrét. chez les Francs*, pp. 625–626. Paris, 1872.

lord of Asia from Africa to India, sent ambassadors to him from his own magnificent capital of Bagdad, with presents of silken tents, an elephant, a water-clock, and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre.[1] When he was buried in the basilica reared by himself at Aix-la-Chapelle, in A. D. 814, still seated in death on a royal throne and arrayed in magnificent imperial robes, the universal feeling of Europe exalted him above all preceding monarchs. In spite of his personal frailties and sins the monks had visions of him ascending the shining golden stairs, attended by angels, to be welcomed by the Lord. When he was canonized, first by the Anti-Pope, Paschal Third, three and a half centuries later, A. D. 1166, and subsequently by Alexander Third, it was in deference to this wide, persistent, controlling impulse. Louis Ninth appointed an annual feast-day to commemorate him with triumphant and solemn service; and we, looking back with merely critical interest on his times and his career, can see that in an important sense it is true,— if he had been followed by others equal to himself it would have been in every sense true,— what an eloquent and judicious writer on the Roman Empire has recently said, that from the moment of his imperial coronation modern history begins.[2]

[1] Einhardi : Vita, 16. — The particular description of the clock, given by Einhard, or at least by the author of the Annals, is worth quoting for a light which it casts on the history of mechanical art : Fuerunt præterea munera præfati regis . . . necnon et horologium ex auricalco arte mechanica mirifice compositum, in quo duodecim horarum cursus ad clepsidram vertebatur, cum totidem æreis pilulis, quæ ad completionem horarum decidebant, et casu suo subjectum sibi cimbalum tinnire faciebant, additis in eodem ejusdem numeri equitibus, qui per duodecim fenestras completis horis exiebant, et impulsu egressionis suæ totidem fenestras, quæ prius erant apertæ, claudebant ; necnon et alia multa erant in ipso horologio, quæ nunc enumerare longum est. — *Annales*, an. 807.

[2] Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire, p. 49. London ed., 1876.

It is an old tradition on the Rhine that Charlemagne, looking from the windows of his palace at Ingelheim only scanty ruins of which now can be traced, observed that the snows melted first and the spring verdure earliest appeared on a particular summit across the river. "There, then," he said, "we will plant our vineyards;" and from that day to this the vines and the wines of the Rüdesheimer Berg have been famous in the world. The schools which he founded, with the Christian institutions which he quickened and regulated, marked the first outbreak of the spring-time in Europe after a tempestuous winter; and if bitter frosts had not afterward blighted the blossoming promise the Continent would have been filled, earlier than it was, with gladness and strength. The hope which he inspired never wholly passed away. It was the one power for good which subsequent disasters could not crush. A demonstration had been given, on a really colossal scale, of what was possible in European advancement. Something of this was still remembered amid the agony of darkness which followed. And I have referred so particularly to this reign of Charlemagne, not merely because it formed in itself an astonishing parenthesis in history, but because it was this, fundamentally, which made possible the career of a man like Bernard three centuries later. Those intervening centuries, however, were full of such a frightful chaos in Church and State as has never since been equalled or approached.

Louis, the son of Charlemagne, who before his father's death had received the diadem from his hand, retained nominally the same empire; but the regnant and unresting energy which before had filled its indefinite spaces being withdrawn, the fabric soon fell in bloody dissolution. Among the sons of Louis it was divided

by compact, you remember, after fierce conflicts. Through the failure of collateral branches, it was nominally and partially restored, toward the close of the century, under Charles the Fat, the most wretched of caricatures upon Charles the Great. When he had been deposed, for cowardice and fatuity, in A.D. 887, and after begging his bread from the rebels had died in lonely and abject misery, and been buried in a convent grave,[1] all semblance vanished of the former coherent empire, to reappear only after the lapse of three fourths of a century, under the plan and by the prowess of the German Otho.

With the failure of the Empire, the grand and sagacious plan of Charlemagne, who had sought and for the time had secured the territorial protection and governmental unity of a large part of Europe, found tremendous vindication. It became apparent that the Empire had not simply originated in personal ambition, though that of course had had its part in rearing the vast but temporary structure. It had had also a vital relation to the needs of the time; so that when it was gone the threatening forces against which it had raised a temporary bulwark broke forth upon its lands with fearfully wide and destroying violence. The interests to which it had given a transient guarantee were exposed thereafter, without protection, to the perils which it had limited or arrested; and the future, of which a real promise had lain in it, proved impossible to be reached except through winding and bloody paths. Barbarism rushed in from every side on the feeble beginnings of the better civilization. Learning ceased to be cherished, and the liberal arts which were beginning to germinate

[1] At Reichenau, near Constance.

withered like flowers in icy airs. Even Charlemagne's collection of German heroic songs is said to have been destroyed as impious by his successors. The schools established for popular training were almost as hopelessly scattered as was the School of the Palace. Armed enemies burst with a fury unrestrained upon the distributed nascent states, which had no longer strength to resist them. The African Saracens pillaged the coasts of the Mediterranean; they plundered Arles and Marseilles; they ravaged Corsica and Sardinia; they sacked and burned the monastery of Monte Cassino, the cradle of monachism in Europe; they burned Ostia and Civita Vecchia, and threatened Rome, so that Leo Fourth, in the middle of the ninth century, built a wall to protect the quarter of the city around St. Peter's, which is still called from him the Leonine city. He built, also, near the mouth of the Tiber, fortified towers, from one to the other of which chains were stretched to prevent the passage of piratical flotillas.

At the same time the Northmen, the sight of whose swift and daring ships in Mediterranean harbors had startled Charlemagne at the height of his power, and against whom armed vessels had been stationed at the mouths of French rivers, breaking forth from the populous Scandinavian coasts pierced into France, up the Rhine into Germany, despoiling and slaying on every side. In the ninth and tenth centuries nearly fifty incursions of the Northmen into France are historically recorded. Where the records are less frequent it is not improbably because convents had been destroyed, monks had fled, and their painful recitals had turned to ashes. The relentless ravagers pillaged Bordeaux so thoroughly that the archbishop was transferred by the Pope to Bourges, because his province had become

a desert.[1] They were at Amiens, Cambrai, Rouen, Liège, at Orléans, Tours, Toulouse, Nantes, at Trèves, Cologne, Bonn, and stabled their horses in the basilica at Aix. Chartres fell into their possession. Naples, Sicily, and the Greek coasts were visited by their fierce rapacity; and before the death of Charles the Fat they had laid siege to Paris,—then limited again to the island in the Seine,—and had been not beaten off but bought off, with a large money ransom and a free passage on the upper Seine, and into Burgundy. For nearly a century France continued to be devastated by them, till the wealthy province of Normandy having become theirs by cession from the crown, A.D. 911, their destroying irruptions were suspended. "From the fury of the Normans, Good Lord, deliver us," had become a familiar petition of worshippers in the North of Europe, as a similar prayer against the deadly arrows of the Hungarians had found place in the South.

The ravages of the Hungarians had been yet more dreadful than those of the Normans; and the memory of them still links itself, in a lurid association, with the national name so nobly represented in our time by Kossuth, Deák, and Andrássy. Composed of tribes of Scythian and Finnish origin, this people, with tents of skin, garments of fur, with scarified faces, and with the terrible Tartar bows which were their characteristic weapons,—though they used as well the sword, the spear, the battle-axe, and the breastplate,—migrating from the East, had broken into the parts of Pannonia which Charlemagne had subdued, and from thence at the close of the ninth century they swept like a whirlwind over Europe. "Such was their Scythian speed," says Gibbon, "that in a single day a circuit of fifty miles

[1] Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. iii. p. 210.

was stripped and consumed; . . . nor could any distance be secure against an enemy who, almost at the same moment, laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall and the city of Bremen on the shores of the Northern Ocean."[1] Then began the multiplication of walled towns in Europe. Over the southern provinces of France rolled unchecked the horrible flood. Crossing the Pyrenees, it broke into Spain. Italy was swept by it. The royal Pavia was burned, and almost its whole population was slain. To the bounds of Calabria the desolation extended. The savage invaders showed no mercy, as they asked none. Even cannibalism was attributed to them by the popular rumor. Their business was to slay every man; and if they spared women or children it was only to drag them into a captivity in the prospect of which death lost its terrors. For nearly forty years such raids of savage massacre continued, till the power of these enemies of all civilization was finally broken in great battles under Henry the Fowler and Otho. Afterward they subsided by slow degrees into stationary life; but up to nearly the last quarter of the tenth century the terror of the Hungarians was hardly for a day absent from the mind of Europe.

Meantime the Slavonic Wends and Czechs had renounced dependence on the Empire, and threatened its frontiers. All Europe was menaced with a swift and awful return of barbarism. Fear was so general and so oppressive that a dreadful apathy was born of it, an apathy which tended to social and governmental atrophy, and was only interrupted by disaster and convulsion. Population diminished; and the remark of Sismondi is literally true that in reading the scanty records

[1] Decline and Fall, vol. vii. p. 171. London ed., 1848.

one is struck by a prevailing feeling of solitude.[1] Harvests were neglected, forests widened. Aquitaine was ravaged by wolves. As Michelet has said, herds of deer seemed to have taken possession of France.[2] As nearly as is possible, perhaps, in extended human societies, a state of general anarchy was approached. Bryce has described it well in a few words: "No one thought of common defence or wide organization; the strong built castles, the weak became their bondsmen, or took shelter under the cowl. . . . The grand vision of a universal Christian empire was utterly lost in the isolation, the antagonism, the increasing localization of all powers; it might seem to have been but a passing gleam from an older and a better world."[3]

It was in this dreary and dangerous period that the Feudal System came, with an almost spontaneous and irresistible impulse, to wide development; and perhaps nothing illustrates more clearly both the needs of the time and the slavish or tyrannous temper presiding in it. Undoubtedly, the beginnings of this celebrated system may be traced further back, even to the primitive customs of Germanic and Gallic tribes. But it was finally articulated and firmly established only in and after the tenth century. The edict of Conrad Second at Milan, which is generally recognized as marking the full maturity of the system, was issued in A.D. 1037, when the organization of feudal servitudes became complete.

[1] L'extinction rapide de la population rurale fut la grande cause qui, sous le règne des Carlovingiens, ouvrit l'empire aux brigands qui le dévastèrent; . . . en lisant leur récit des événemens, il est impossible de n'être pas atteint d'un sentiment de solitude. — *Hist. de Français*, tom. iii. p. 279.

[2] Les bêtes fauves semblaient prendre possession de la France. — *Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 397. Paris ed., 1835.

[3] Holy Roman Empire, p. 79. London ed., 1876.

The earliest written "customary," as it was called, or public code of feudal customs, was issued in France in A.D. 1088.[1] But the customs had many of them become established before, of which this list presents the record; and the fact that the vast elaborated system, whose influence was so wide both for evil and for good, came into development at that time, throws a vivid light both on its own nature and on those public dangers and needs out of which it arose. In studying it one is apt to get entangled in the teasing intricacies of its ultimate arrangements, and the multiplicity of its correlated "incidents." But the principle of it was utterly simple. The reciprocal obligation of protection on the one hand, and of service on the other, was its one essential element.

In ethical origin it was a military compact, express or implied, between lord and vassal, for their common defence. After a time it came to be held that every man not noble by birth was bound to attach himself to some special lord; and so the smaller free estates, or allodial lands, came under the feudal proprietorship, with the military protection, usually of the nearest and most powerful baron. Then the benefices, which had been royally conferred on principal nobles, making them governors in their provinces on condition of military service, became hereditary, constituting fiefs, at the head of which was duke, count, or marquis. On the one hand arose out of this the landed aristocracy, which has formed so striking a feature in the political system of Europe. On the other hand came the hereditary military aristocracy, which allowed no noble to exercise another trade than that of arms without "derogat-

[1] See Hallam, The Middle Ages, vol. i. pp. 165, 183. London ed., 1853.

ing," or surrendering the advantages of birth and rank. The land was held to ennoble its possessor; and surnames became common, to facilitate the tracing and the transmission of property and prerogative. For the same purpose armorial bearings were introduced, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Even the higher clergy often became feudal nobles, and were engaged in actual war, though they might commonly discharge their feudal obligation by sending their vassals to the field, or by pecuniary equivalents; while those who in an earlier time had been free peasants came by degrees, under a force as inevitable as that which governs the flow of rivers, to be the bondsmen of the lords.

The whole system was an attempt, artificial, elaborate, yet at first almost without foresight of results, to organize feeble dispersed communities for mutual protection and local defence. It shows, in every part, that the safeguards of the Empire had been withdrawn. A wide and fruitful social development had been at least possible, at no distant day, if these had continued; and a large measure of regulated liberty would almost certainly have either attended or followed social progress. But when the empire disappeared, and the distributed populations broke up into multitudes of separated circles, the State was forgotten, the neighborhood became paramount, and the strongest was the natural chief. Voltaire put into few words the whole genius of the system, when he said that "each castle became the capital of a small kingdom of brigands, in the midst of desolate towns and depopulated fields." [1]

[1] Chaque château était la capitale d'un petit état de brigands; . . . les villes presque réduites en solitude, et les campagnes dépeuplées par de longues famines. — *Essai sur les Mœurs*, cap. xxxviii.

There was no longer any recognized commonwealth. The conception of it appeared an illusory dream of the world's youth which the hard necessities of life had driven from men's minds, while they hastened to shelter themselves, in frightened squads, upon or beneath the fortressed rocks. All laws became provincial or local. The emperor had been the "Lex Animata,"— the living and personal law of his realm. Now that counts or dukes had become local sovereigns, subject only to the feudal authority of the king which was often but nominal, there was no more attempt at general legislation or a system of public jurisprudence. Such an attempt first appears in an ordinance of Louis Eighth, A.D. 1223, concerning usury by the Jews.[1] Until then, and practically until many years later, no feudal tenant could be bound by a general law within the limits of his fief without his consent; and the multitudes of local regulations, appertaining to the various districts, sprang up almost as rapidly and as widely as did the subsequent millions of poppies on the battle-fields of France, out of a soil crimsoned and fertilized by the down-pour of blood.

Undoubtedly the system had certain advantages, and was not entirely unproductive of benefit. It at least saved Europe from being conquered and possessed by any one family of kings,—the multiplication of military centres and of local commanders making this impossible. It nurtured certain elements of character which claim our respect, as fealty to superiors, loyalty to custom, a sense of obligation to proximate authority; while by giving supremacy to local interests it doubtless wrought for the wider distribution of influences and tendencies out of which came the following civilization.

[1] Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 221. London ed., 1853.

Very few things in this world are of unmixed evilness, and the Feudal System was not one of them. But, on the other hand, by narrowing men's views to their private security, or the protection of immediate neighborhoods, it tended more and more to dissociate communities. It gave enormous prominence to mere physical force. Its nobles, as Sismondi has said, "exercising the body without intermission, found it impossible to cultivate the mind, and came to count it a duty not to think."[1] Genius and character ceased to be conditions of influence. Only the ownership of land gave authority; and that ownership depended either on birth or on stiffness of muscle. Private wars became frequent and legal, and out of them easily and widely emerged promiscuous rapine. Commerce died under the system, except as it was concentrated and entrenched in powerful cities; and the popular industries, arts, and culture, which commerce would have fostered, were fettered or forbidden. The true relation of man to the planet was practically reversed. The land became the lord, the vassal was bound to it, and the haughtiest baron must "serve his fief."[2] Anything approaching public sentiment was of course impossible. No passion of patriotism could be known. The system was radically unserviceable for public advancement, and whatever of this was accomplished while it continued was accomplished in spite of it, by energetic forces in human nature which it could not destroy or wholly confine. It was ethically commended to those among whom it existed, it is now so commended to us, only by its fitness to guard Europe from the utter and irretrievable anarchy which without it must have succeeded the shat-

[1] Hist. des Français, tom. iv. p. 116.

[2] Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 164. Paris ed., 1835.

tered Empire. No other testimony appears to me so impressive to the awful evil and peril of the time — no song or story, no record or legend, no particular event, no special law — as does the fact that this enormous and oppressive establishment was the only barrier which Europe could raise against barbarism and paganism when Charlemagne's plans had failed of success. Those castles on the crags, with moats, drawbridges, frowning bastions, menacing banners, and with the small huddles of huts grouped around their rocky foundations, where terrified peasants found a partial security, and paid for it by submissive or compulsory compliance with oppressive exactions,— these attest not so much the cruelty of society, or its ambitions, as its fears. The shield of the Empire being withdrawn, only isolated rocks, guarded by men with lances and in mail, could take its place. No other asylum was really left, unless men sought it under the cowl.

It is to be remembered, also, that with such changes in the political and military system of Europe came at the same time a frightful development in the sphere of religion,— one which cannot be clearly understood except in connection with the preceding facts.

The World-empire had naturally had the World-religion associated with it, and had promised to be of that religion the sure protector, if also sometimes its salutary monitor. The capitularies of Charlemagne had not sought merely to revise and supplement, and to bring into measurable order and harmony, the rules and customs of the various peoples subjected to his rule; they had contemplated also, as I indicated before, the continuance, the support, with the practical and almost the doctrinal guidance of the ministers of religion. They contain articles, for example, on the admission

of freedmen into the spiritual order, and of slaves into monasteries; on the participation of the clergy in war; on the treatment of those sentenced to death, who should seek refuge in abbeys; on the value of external works; on amended manners, as the true ornament of the Church; against the use of amulets and divination, or the searching of the Scriptures for oracular responses. Under them for the first time the payment of tithes was made compulsory, so that pecuniary support was assured by the State to the teachers of Christianity. The Emperor sought, too, to confine the clergy to their spiritual functions, to bring the seculars among them into monastic life, and to keep the monasteries strictly subordinate to his authority. He settled sometimes the smallest matters of Church discipline, while he equally concerned himself with the larger questions of doctrinal belief.

It illustrates his attention to the matters of religion that he had the Homilarium prepared and distributed for use in the churches, with sermons arranged for Sundays and feast-days, and with a preface admonishing the clergy to the diligent study of the Scriptures. He interested himself actively and largely against the heretical theory of Adoptianism, and for the conversion from it of its chief representative, Felix, bishop of Urgellis.[1] He originated and shaped, if he did not compose, the famous "Caroline Books," containing wise counsels on the use of images in churches.[2] He favored the insertion of the "Filioque" in the Latin form of the Nicene Creed, as it had already appeared

[1] See Neander, Hist. of Christ. Relig., vol. iii. pp. 165–168.

[2] B. Caroli Mag. Capitulare de Imaginibus, compositum et publicatum in conc. Francoford, et Adriano Papæ missum, A. D. 794." — *Opera* [Migne], tom. ii. coll. 989–1350.

in the Athanasian, to represent the double procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son; and during his reign was held the synod at Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 809, before which he brought the question, and which decided in favor of the change. He thereupon sent messengers to Pope Leo Third, asking his sanction for it, to which the cautious pontiff made answer, in effect, that the doctrine represented by the clause was correct, but the change in the creed-form was not then expedient.[1] The Emperor had previously presided himself at the Synod of Frankfort, in A.D. 794, though legates from the Pope were present; and when that Synod, representing the French and German churches, had condemned the decrees of the Second Council of Nice, he caused a treatise to be drawn up, urging the soundness of its conclusions, and pressing Pope Adrian to affirm and enforce them. His letters to the pontiffs, especially to Leo, were by no means those of one who felt himself inferior in dignity. He gives instruction, admonition, and sometimes rebuke, with kingly freedom, and seems not indisposed to vindicate for himself the title which more than one had given him, not wholly in jest, "Episcopus Episcoporum."[2]

His son and successor Louis, so far as power remained to him, carried yet further this supervision of the clergy. He forbade bishops to retain their horses, arms, and military spurs, their belts thick with gems, and their elaborate and embroidered robes.[3] He sought

[1] See Schaff's Hist. of the Church, vol. iv. p. 482. New York ed., 1885.

[2] Alcuin spoke of him as "Decus Ecclesiæ, rector, defensor, amator;" "catholicus in fide, rex in potestate, pontifex in prædicatione, judex in æquitate, philosophus in liberalibus studiis, inclytus in moribus, et omni honestate præcipuus." — *Opera Alcuini* [Migne], tom. ii. coll. 780, 251.

[3] Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. i. p. 354, note; Paris ed., 1835:

strenuously to reform the monasteries, set forth in a volume the proper rules of canonical life, had copies of this made, and appointed commissioners to go with authority among and through religious houses, and bring nunneries and monasteries to the strict and sincere observance of their rules.

In all this, you observe, there was no immediate conflict developed between emperor and pontiff, the civil authority and the religious. The two moved as co-ordinate, on parallel lines, with easy co-operation. There was one religion for Western Christendom, with the Pope at its head; one government for it, with the anointed Emperor as ruler. The Pope was God's vicar on earth in things spiritual, the Emperor in things temporal. It might of course be anticipated that in the progress of time the emperor would come to be held the inferior, as things temporal are confessedly less important than things spiritual; but in Charlemagne's period no such distinction had appeared. His imperial consecration by the Pope, coming, as he said, unexpectedly,[1] had implied no temporal dependence for the crown on the pontiff who conveyed it; and Louis the Débonnaire, by his command, had with his own hands at first assumed the crown, as if expressly to negative the notion of such dependence. A certain distinctly clerical character was in fact communicated to the emperor by his coronation. He became a secular pope, as the pontiff was a spiritual emperor. The con-

Tunc cœperunt deponi ab episcopis et clericis cingula balteis aureis et gemmeis cultris onerata, exquisitæque vestes, sed et calcaria talos onerantia relinqui.

[1] Quo tempore imperatoris et augusti nomen accepit. Quod primo in tantum aversatus est, ut adfirmaret, se eo die, quamvis præcipua festivitas esset, ecclesiam non intraturum, si pontificis consilium præscire potuisset. — EINHARDI: *Vita Karoli M.*, cap. 28.

senting action of both was held to be essential to the welfare of Christendom. In Charlemagne's time, and that of his son, the Empire did protect, extend, and purify religion. In this was a source and an evidence of its strength. At the same time that it regulated monks and prelates, and gave earnest exhortation to pontiffs, its conquests opened larger opportunities to the missionary zeal which never had failed, and carried Christianity, in the form in which it then was presented, not only to Wittekind and the Saxons, but to the Slavonians, and to the Chagan of the Avars. Every Christian was held to owe loyalty to the head of the Empire, as the Defender of the Church, and the Protector of the Catholic faith; and the unity of the Church found its counterpart in the unity of the State.

So this was called "The Holy Roman Empire;" and while it continued all felt that Christianity took from it security, energy, and imperial eminence. The recent rise of Mohammedanism in the East, with its threatening pressure on Eastern Christendom, had brought the governing religion of the West into bolder relief before men's minds. The severance from the Greek church, not yet complete but ripening toward the final schism, had made the church whose headship was in Rome more affirmative and self-conscious; and it naturally came to pass that while the pope leaned on the emperor, the emperor felt it to be his mission to guard and to extend the Church; and the combined action of both gave apparently the surest guarantee of the progress of the cause which all Christians had chiefly at heart.

The Empire fell; and with the civil disturbances which followed came religious dissension, decline, degradation, still more appalling. Whether or not we can trace a direct relation of the one as cause to the other

as effect, the dreadful sequence cannot be denied; and only as we hold it clearly in mind can we understand to how low a point the moral life of Europe descended. One feels almost, in reading the foul and frightful annals, as if the ancient Pagan temper, driven into the air or trodden into the soil before the armies of the Empire, had settled back densely and heavily upon Europe, and was infecting and poisoning the very springs of spiritual life. The atmosphere of society was not merely obscured by superstition, it reeked with all manner of pestilent forces. This was not true in forests and fields alone, or in remote hamlets. At Rome itself, centre of Christendom, the vilest vices of the times of Tiberius or of Caligula fiercely reappeared. It is almost incredible, the extent to which a frightful corruption there prevailed. The annalists of the Roman Church stand aghast before it. "The Pornocracy," or reign of Harlots, is the terrible name by which a part of it is most accurately described. Milman's explanation of the terrific development is temperate and brief: "This anarchy of Italy led to the degradation of the Papacy; the degradation of the Papacy increased the anarchy of Italy. . . . Europe was resolutely ignorant what strange accidents, caprices, crimes, intrigues, even assassinations, determined the rise and fall of the Supreme Pontiff."[1] No Protestant prepossessions color this picture. Even the learned and scrupulous Mabillon had to confess that most of the popes of the tenth century "lived rather like monsters, or like wild beasts, than like bishops."

Prior to the violent taking of the papal chair by Sergius Third, A. D. 904, there had been nine popes in thirteen years. One had died so hated that after his

[1] Hist. Latin Christianity, vol. iii. p. 152. New York ed., 1860.

death his body was disinterred, stripped, mutilated, and thrown into the Tiber, while those who had been ordained by him were compelled to be reordained. His successor had been already twice deposed from the clerical office for scandalous wickedness, and died in a fortnight after being made pope. His successor was strangled in prison.

The popes who followed reigned only a few months each; and Leo Fifth, A.D. 903, in less than two months was thrown into prison by one of his own presbyters, who thereupon took his place, to be in turn, within a year, ignominiously expelled. Under Sergius came to power the famous trio of courtesans: Theodora the mother, and her daughters Theodora and Marozia, as dissolute as herself, who for years afterwards governed the pontificate, bestowing it on their lovers or bastard sons. It is not possible fully to tell the story of the time. One or two instances must suffice as indications. One of the favorites of the elder Theodora had been made successively Bishop of Bologna and Archbishop of Ravenna. By her agency he was made pontiff, A.D. 914, under the name of John Tenth.[1] He proved an able and martial pope, himself leading an army successfully against the Saracens. But after fourteen years, Marozia, whom Liutprand called "a drunken Venus,"[2] had him surprised in the Lateran Palace,

[1] Theodora scortum impudens . . . quod dictu etiam fedissimum est, Romanæ civitatis non inviriliter monarchiam obtinebat. Quæ duas habuit natas, Marotiam atque Theodoram, sibi non solum coequales verum etiam Veneris exercitio promptiores. . . . Theodoræ autem glycerii mens perversa, ne amasii sui ducentorum miliariorum interpositione, quibus Ravenna sequestratur Roma, rarissimo concubitu potiretur, Ravenate hunc sedis archipresulatum coegit deserere, Romanumque, pro nefas, summum pontificium usurpare. — LIUTPRANDI: *Antapod.*, lib. ii. 48.

[2] Respondes, scio, tu: "Nichil hoc Venus ebria curat." — *Ibid.* iii. 44.

thrown into prison, and a little later suffocated with pillows. Shortly after, a son of hers, whose reputed father was Pope Sergius, was raised to the papacy under the title of John Eleventh,[1] who, however, by another more legitimate son of hers, was ere long cast into prison, where he languished till his death four years later. At last came John Twelfth, the grandson of the same licentious woman, raised to the papacy at the age of nineteen, A.D. 956, of whom no account can be given which would not sully the page and shock the ear. According to the testimony of his contemporary churchmen, he turned the pontifical palace into a vast school of prostitution. Devout women from distant countries were deterred from making pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Peter by the justified fear of nameless outrage. A synod at Rome, composed principally of German, Tuscan, French, and Lombard prelates, but at which bishops and priests of the neighborhood were also present, received testimony against him from high ecclesiastics as well as from laymen, accusing him of simony, cruelty, promiscuous licentiousness, of homicide, perjury, sacrilege, of incest in his own family, of drinking wine to the honor of the Devil, of invoking the aid of Pagan gods to give a favorable turn to the dice. In reply the Pope swore by Almighty God that if they elected another pontiff he would excommunicate them all; to which they replied with the sharp answer

[1] Cumque die quadam papa cum fratre paucisque aliis in Lataranensi palatio esset, Widonis et Marociæ super eos milites irruentes, Petrum fratris ipsius ante oculos interfecerunt; eundem vero papam comprehendentes, custodie manciparunt, in qua non multo post est defuntus. Aiunt enim, quod cervical super os eius imponerent, sicque eum pessime suffocarent. Quo mortuo, ipsius Marotiæ filium Johannem nomine, quem ex Sergio papa meretrix ipsa genuerat, papam constituunt. — LIUTPRANDI: *Antapod.*, iii. 43.

that Judas had had apostolic power to bind and loose as long as he was faithful, but that when he became a greedy murderer he could bind or loose nobody but himself, and could only tie the knot in the cord that hanged him.[1]

This foul desperado was finally murdered, as was currently reported, in an adulterous rendezvous, by the dagger of the injured husband, and died without sacraments. But others who followed him, though scarcely rivalling his incomparable wickedness, brought fearful shame to the pontificate. Benedict Fifth was degraded and banished. Benedict Sixth was strangled in a dungeon. A usurper, Boniface, assumed the papacy, but was soon compelled to fly, carrying off with him the sacred vessels of St. Peter's. He returned, however, to murder the Pope who had taken his place as Benedict Seventh, putting him to death in the castle of St. Angelo, either by poison or by starvation. And at last came Benedict Ninth, in the earlier half of the eleventh century, A.D. 1033, raised to the papacy at the age of twelve years by heavy bribery, whom one of his own successors in the office, Victor Third, declared to have led a life so foul and execrable that he shuddered

[1] Noveritis itaque, non a paucis, sed ab omnibus tam nostri quam et alterius ordinis, vos homicidii, perjurii, sacrilegii, et ex propria cognatione atque ex duabus sororibus incesti crimine esse accusatos. Dicunt et aliud auditu ipso horridum, diaboli vos in amore vinum bibisse ; in ludo aleæ Jovis, Veneris, ceterorumque demonum auxilium poposcisse. . . . Testis omnium gentium preter Romanarum absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratia timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos hunc audierint conjugatas, viduas, virgines, vi oppressisse. — LIUTPRANDI : *Hist. Ottonis*, 12, 4.

Quamdiu enim bonus inter condiscipulos fuit, ligare atque solvere valuit; postquam vero cupiditatis causa homicida factus, vitam omnium occidere voluit, quem postea ligatum solvere aut solutum ligare potuit, nisi se ipsum, quem infelicissimo laqueo strangulavit? — *Ibid.* 13.

to describe it;[1] of whom Raoul Glaber, writing at the time, blushed to record the shame of his entrance on his office, the vileness of his conduct, the infamy of his exit.[2] Driven from the pontifical chair by an irresistible tumult of popular disgust, he regained it by bloody violence, and excommunicated the bishop who had been put into his place. At last he sold the office itself, which he seems to have valued only for the liberty which it gave to his vices, and Gregory Sixth purchased the dignity.[3] There were at one time three popes reigning in Rome, who were all deposed by the Emperor Henry Third, and to whom a successor was appointed.[4]

It was of pontiffs like these whose character I have faintly indicated that the Bishop of Orléans said, at the Council of Rheims, A.D. 991, after reciting the crimes

[1] Cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam fœda, quamque execranda extiterit, horresco referre. See Milman's Hist. of Latin Christ., vol. iii. p. 230, note.

[2] Ipso quoque in tempore Romana Sedes, quæ universalis jure habetur in orbe terrarum, præfato morbo pestifero per viginti quinque annorum spacia miserrime laboraverat. Fuerat enim eidem Sedi ordinatus quidam puer circiter annorum XII. contra jus fasque; quem scilicet sola pecunia auri et argenti plus commendavit, quam ætas aut sanctitas; et quoniam infelicem habuit introitum, infeliciorem persensit exitum. Horrendum quippe referre, turpitudo illius conversationis et vitæ. Tunc vero cum consensu totius Romani populi, atque ex præcepto Imperatoris, ejectus est a Sede, et in loco ejus subrogatus est vir religiosissimus ac sanctitate perspicuus Gregorius natione Romanus; cujus videlicet bona fama quicquid prior fœdaverat in melius reformavit. — *Hist. sui temp.*, lib. v. cap. 5.

[3] Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, afterward Victor Third, wrote: "Cumque se a clero simul et populo propter nequitias suas contemni respiceret, et fama suorum facinorum omnium aures impleri cerneret, tandem reperto consilio, qui voluptati deditus ut Epicurus magis quam pontifex vivere malebat, cuidam Joanni archi-presbytero . . . non parva ab eo accepta pecunia summum sacerdotium relinquens tradidit." See Neander's Hist. of Christ. Religion, vol. iii. p. 376, note.

[4] Benedict IX. officiated at St. John Lateran; Sylvester III. in St. Peter's; Gregory VI. in St. Maria Maggiore.

of John Twelfth: "Is it a settled matter that to such monstrous brutes, utterly destitute of all knowledge of things human and divine, innumerable priests, distinguished throughout the world for their wisdom and the temper of their lives, are to be subjected? For what do we hold him who sits blazing with purple and gold, on a lofty throne? If he lacks love, and is only inflated with knowledge, he is Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God. If he shows neither love nor knowledge, he is like a statue, like an idol, to seek counsel from whom is like consulting a block of marble."[1] Confusion and degradation naturally extended throughout the Church, from such excess of evilness at the head. Rome had come to be the most vicious and wretched city of a depraved and miserable land. No public works were carried on in it; artistic activities disappeared; the classical monuments were ruthlessly destroyed.[2] A darkness, noisome and intolerable, radiated from it. As when in the smitten river of Egypt the fish died in the bloody waves, and frogs came from it into houses and bed-chambers, so from Rome, whose mission had been to christianize the Continent, all spiritual plagues came swarming forth. Men like Hugh of Provence, foul with all crimes, bestowed great bishoprics on bastard sons.

[1] Nam talibus monstris ignominia plenis, scientia divinarum et humanarum vacuis, innumeros sacerdotes Dei per orbem terrarum, scientiâ et vitæ mente conspicuos subjici decretum est? . . . Quid hunc, Reverendi Patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurea et aurea radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? — Si charitate destituitur totaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus. Si autem nec charitate fundatur nec scientia erigitur, in templo Dei tanquam statua, tanquam idolum est; a quo responsa petere, marmora consulere est. — *Synodus Remensis*, pp. 60-61.

[2] See Hemans, Sacred Art in Italy, vol. i. pp. 41-44, 56. London ed., 1869.

Barons conferred abbeys and bishoprics on their infant children. A child only five years old was made Archbishop of Rheims. Another was put by purchase into the See of Narbonne at the age of ten.[1] The father, in such cases, took the authorizing letters in the name of the child, ruled the diocese, and clutched the price of unsaid masses. Churches were bequeathed to daughters as their dowries. Simony was a general curse in the churches, since it was the common impression in Europe that at Rome everything was venal, and while men reprobated the example they followed it.[2] When Hildebrand was subsequently appointed director of the great monastery of St. Paul, outside the gates of Rome, he found cattle stabled in the basilica, and the monks waited on in the refectory by abandoned women. Perjury was so common as almost wholly to escape punishment. To a fearful extent drunkenness was the habit in monasteries, and vices viler than drunkenness were common. Robbery was the business of a large part of society, and brigandage infested the public roads. Christians were sold in the Saracen slave-markets.[3] Learning was regarded as akin to magic. A church-

[1] See Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 172. London ed., 1853. Robertson notices also the fact that the Count of Vermandois, who secured the election of the boy five years old at Rheims, was suspected of having poisoned the previous archbishop in order to make the vacancy for the child. Hist. of the Church, vol. ii. p. 384. London ed. 1856.

[2] Gerbert said, afterward pope: "Romanorum mores mundus perhorrescit." A striking illustration of the prevalence of simony is mentioned by Sismondi (Hist. des Français, tom. iv. pp. 299–301), where the Archbishops of Rheims and Sens, the Bishops of Nevers, Constance, Nantes, Langres, Beauvais, Amiens, with the Abbot of St. Médard at Soissons, were all constrained to confess that they had either bought their places, or had entered them through purchase by their parents. [A. D. 1049.]

[3] See Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 316; also, pp. 303, 309, 314. London ed., 1853.

penance made amends for any other sin almost more easily than for that.

At this time began perhaps, certainly at this time were widely accepted, those scandalous irregularities in worship which frequently continued into later periods,—like the "*fête des sous-diacres*" at Paris, where tipsy priests elected a Bishop of Unreason, offered incense of burnt leather, sang obscene songs, and ate upon the altar; like that at Evreux, where the priests wore their surplices wrong side out, and threw bran in each other's eyes;[1] like those of which Strutt makes mention in his "Sports and Pastimes,"—when in each of the cathedral churches a bishop or an archbishop of fools was elected, in those dependent on the Holy See a pope of fools, for whom mock ecclesiastics were provided, with ridiculous dresses, and around whom a motley crowd, while service was proceeding, sang indecent songs in the choir, ate, drank, and played with dice on the altar, afterward putting filth into the censers, and receiving a benediction from the mock bishop or pope. Usually, these vicious spectacles occurred on Christmas-day or near it; but sometimes on other feast-days. When they were exhibited on St. Stephen's day, commemorating him whose face had shined as the face of an angel, and who had led toward heaven "the noble army of martyrs," a burlesque composition called the "Prose of the Ass" was sung as part of the mass, performed by a double choir, with the sound of the braying of an ass introduced as a refrain.[2] Customs of this kind are not extemporized, and do not suddenly establish themselves in the liking of large communities, and in acceptance

[1] Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 99, note. Paris ed., 1835.

[2] Sports and Pastimes, pp. 345–346. London ed., 1831. See also "British Monachism," by T. D. Fosbrooke, pp. 46–47. London ed., 1843.

by religious houses. They seem natural outgrowths of an age like that the character of which I have sought to indicate.

The belief in the power of the Pagan gods reappeared in Christian Europe. As late as the middle of the eleventh century the story was credited that when a young Roman noble, about to engage in play in the Coliseum, had taken from his finger his marriage ring and put it on the finger of a statue of Venus, the bronze had suddenly closed upon it, and would not relinquish it till the aid of a monk had been invoked who was a magician, and who, induced by a heavy bribe, compelled a demon with whom he had dealings to obtain the restitution of the ring by the goddess.[1] One of the popes, even, and one of the best and wisest in the series, was popularly believed to have been a magician,— Sylvester Second, the first pontiff of French origin. He had been a student of algebra and geometry, in connection with them had corresponded with learned Saracens, and had himself studied at Cordova. He had written a brief treatise on geometry, containing instructions for measuring the height of a tower by its shadow, for calculating the depth of wells, and for solving other simple problems. He had constructed at Rheims a mechanical clock and a hydraulic organ.[2] He had lectured on logic, music, astronomy. He had expounded the Latin poets and satirists. It was easily believed that to gain such unusual and difficult knowledge he had sold himself to the devil, and that in his death the demon triumphed.[3] William of Malmesbury, writing in the

[1] William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum, lib. ii. § 205.

[2] This might almost seem to have been an organ operated by steam, from the description "per aquæ calefactæ violentiam," etc.

[3] "Homagium diabolo fecit, et male finivit."

century following the death of Sylvester, relates particularly the rumors about him: that he had learned from the Saracens what the flight and the singing of birds portended; that he had acquired the art of calling up spirits from Hell; that he had found at Rome a subterranean golden palace, with a golden king and queen, and golden soldiers, playing games with golden dice, with a carbuncle in the recesses of the palace emitting a lustre which turned the darkness into day; that he had made the head of a statue which always told him the truth, but through a misunderstanding of one of whose answers he came to his death.[1] That such stories had lived so long, and travelled so widely, shows, as almost nothing else could, how utter were the darkness and the decay of the time in which they had their start.

Indeed, it is nearly impossible to overstate the mental obscurity, the moral disorder, the almost complete extinction of true and noble religious life among priests and people, in the two centuries which followed the death of Charlemagne. What Montalembert has said of the fifth century might with almost equal propriety be applied to this period: "Confusion, corruption, despair, and death were everywhere; social dismemberment seemed complete. Authority, morals, arts, sciences, religion herself, might have been supposed condemned to irremediable ruin."[2] A certain promise had reappeared when Otho of Germany became emperor, A.D. 962; but the partial empire then re-erected could not, in the nature of things, have the wide and determinate energy which had belonged to Charlemagne's, and the downward drift of the time was not effectively

[1] De Gestis Regum, lib. ii. §§ 169, 172.

[2] Monks of the West, vol. ii. p. 3. London ed., 1861.

interrupted. Hugh Capet had come to the throne in France in A.D. 987, with whom the France since famous in the world began to be; but his power was restricted, as was that of his successors for a century and a half, and no sharp limit could be put by it to priestly wrong, to the oppressions of secular nobles, or to popular superstitions and violence.[1] Four distinct kingdoms then existed within the territory of France, with fifty-five separate fiefs. Each fortress had its prison, with often its torture-chamber and oubliette. There was no appeal to a sovereign authority, and no accessible redress for wrongs; and though there were learned and virtuous bishops, in Germany especially, pious monks, devout nuns, many signal examples of a God-fearing laity, the Church at large seemed almost to have become an immense establishment for the gratification of the pride of the ambitious, the greed of the covetous, the depraved tastes of the luxurious and licentious. Those acquainted with the "Annals" of Baronius will remember the striking argument for the Divine authority of the Papal Church which he founds on the fact that it continued, and still extended, in spite of such monstrous iniquities, abhorred of all men, which for generations were enthroned at the head of it, staining it, he admits, with ineffaceable defilements.[2] It seemed as if no hope were left of any return to better things.

[1] Le pouvoir royal et le pouvoir national avoient été simultanément anéantis. . . . Pendant les sept ou huit premières années du règne de Robert II., l'autorité royale étoit si complètement détruite en France, que la suite des actions du roi, quand on les connoîtroit dans le plus grand détail, ne nous donneroit aucune sorte d'idée de l'administration du pays. — SISMONDI : *Hist. des Français*, tom. iv. p. 84.

[2] Quis ista considerans non miretur, et obstupescat, dum quo tempore . . . ipsa Romana Ecclesia casura, et interitura penitus videri potuisset, tot improbis, sceleratis, impudicis, prædonibus, invasoribus, sanguinariis et grassatoribus hoc sæculo (ut audisti) Sedem Apostolicam invadentibus, eamque

At just this time, too, at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, fell upon Europe that awful dread of the proximate end of the world, the traces of which are vividly stamped on ancient charters,[1] the shock of which seemed the only thing which could possibly be added to complete the frightful chaos of the time. The long tragedy of the tenth century reached in this its indescribable climax.

This expectation of the near appearance of the Lord in the heavens to judge the world had been founded, no doubt, on the interpretation commonly given to the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, where Satan is represented as bound for a thousand years, then to be loosed for a season to deceive the nations and gather them against the Church, after which the great white Throne was to be set, with Him upon it before whose face the heavens and the earth should flee away. By multitudes this was expected to take place at the end of a thousand years from the birth of the Lord; and as the time drew nearer the expectation widened, till it became a general terror. As early as A.D. 909 this coming end of the world had been proclaimed by a council.[2] It had been vehemently declared at the Diet

depravatis moribus conspurcantibus, tam vitioso in primis ingressu, quam detestando pravorum morum exemplo, qua etiam occasione ejus dominium sibi Imperatores vendicantes, . . . eodem tempore externi longe positi veniant Reges ad Apostolicam Sedem, quam recognoscant, et venerentur unicum orbis templum, asylum pietatis, columnam et firmamentum veritatis, etc., etc. Quis inquam ista prudens expendens, non cognoscat Romanam Ecclesiam, non hominum arbitrio regi, qui eam sæpius perdere laborarint, sed imperio Christi disponi, et divinis promissionibus custodiri? — *Annal. Ecclesiast.*, tom. xvi. p. 407. Lucae, 1744.

[1] Charters of gifts to churches often began: "Mundi termino adpropinquante, ruinisque crebrescentibus."

[2] Dum jam jamque adventus imminet illius in majestate terribili, ubi omnes cum gregibus suis venient pastores in conspectum Pastoris

of Würzburg. Toward the end of the century it had been publicly preached at Paris.[1] The general aspect of the times favored the impression, and powerfully inclined men to expect the catastrophe. Such was the state of society that it easily seemed as if chains were being shaken from the loosened limbs of apostate angels, as if the shames and wrongs which desolated Europe were the effect of that immortal malice which God had long curbed, but which He now for secret reasons again set free. Unusual and startling natural events reinforced the impression, and appeared to predict the coming dissolution of the existing frame of things. Sismondi remarks, with great justice, that believers were in the mental condition of a condemned person whose days are numbered, and who sees the time of execution approaching. All prudence was discouraged, all care of one's estate, all preparation for future years. "Particularly," he adds, "it rendered quite absurd the labor of writing a history, or any chronicles, for the benefit of a posterity which was never to see the light."[2] But one writing a little later, like Raoul

Æterni," etc. (Concil. Troslej). — GIESELER: *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 159, note. New York ed. 1865.

[1] One who heard the sermon (Abbo, Abbot of Fleury) testified: "De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in Ecclesia Parisiorum adolescentulus audivi, quod statim, finito mille annorum numero, Antichristus advenerit, et non longo post tempore, universale Judicium succederet." Quoted by Baronius, who also says: "Fuerant ista in Galliis promulgata, ac primum prædicata Parisiis, jamque vulgata per orbem, credita a compluribus, accepta nimirum a simplicioribus cum timore, a doctioribus vero improbata." (Annal. Ecclesiast., tom. xvi. pp. 410–411.)

[2] Elle tenoit tous les fidèles dans la situation d'esprit d'un condamné dont les jours sont comptés et dont le supplice approche; elle décourageoit de toute prudence, de tout soin de son patrimoine, de tout préparatif pour l'avenir; et en particulier, elle rendoit presque ridicule le travail d'écrire une histoire ou des chroniques, pour l'avantage d'une postérité qui

(Rodulph) Glaber, could put on record what he himself had seen, or what had been currently reported in immediately preceding years, and through his eyes we may still look on the frightful scene.[1] At an abbey in Orléans, A.D. 988, according to him, the figure of Christ on the cross was seen to weep copiously, announcing coming disaster to the city. A little later a desolating fire broke out in that city, sweeping before it houses and churches in general ruin. Similar fires afterward occurred in many cities, and especially in Rome. A terrible plague appeared, with secret fires consuming and detaching from the body the living members of those attacked, and doing its terrible work in a night. An immense dragon was seen in the air, flying from north to south, terrifying men with its noise and its gleam. A shower of stones fell near Joigny, of different sizes, piling themselves in heaps, still to be seen there when he wrote. A strange comet appeared, visible for many weeks, seeming to fill with its menacing light a large part of heaven, but disappearing at cock-crow. A terrible famine descended upon almost the whole Roman world, lasting five years, in which cannibal horrors appeared, children even devouring their mothers and mothers their children in the frenzy of hunger. The Saracens reappeared in Spain. Heresies broke out in Italy and elsewhere.[2] One might easily believe, as he

ne devoit jamais voir le jour. — *Hist. des Français*, tom. iv. p. 87. Paris ed. 1823.

[1] It is not known when he was born. His chronicle was finished in A. D. 1047, and he was still living in A. D. 1048. Some things indicate that he was by birth a Burgundian. Early received into a monastery, where he had a brief and stormy career, he was afterward successively in five or six similar establishments, and is supposed to have died at Clugni, to whose famous abbot, Odilon, his book was dedicated. See Hist. Littéraire de la France, tom. vii. p. 399. Paris ed. 1746.

[2] Hist. sui temporis, lib. ii. cap. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12; iii. 3.

reports that they did who were the unhappy witnesses of the griefs, tears, sobs, lamentations in the midst of such disastrous scenes, that the order of the seasons and the laws of the elements were about to be buried in eternal chaos, and that the end of the race was at hand.[1]

These closing words of the monk were written probably at a later day, for, even after the tenth century had closed without bringing the expected destruction of the world, the same terrific expectation, though perhaps in a measure relieved, was not dispelled. It was then widely feared that the thousand years should have been reckoned from the passion of Christ, not from his birth; and that so A.D. 1033 was the year appointed for the predestined end. In the last of these years the gloomiest portents seemed to reappear in heaven and earth. The lands were deluged with perpetual rains, so that it was useless to sow in the drowned fields, and the elements appeared at war among themselves, or divinely commissioned to punish the surpassing insolence of man. A famine followed, more awful than had been previously known; in which Greece, Italy, France, England, were involved; in which men ate earth, weeds, roots, the bark of trees, vermin, dead bodies; and in which a more general cannibalism than had before been seen came to prevail, children and adults being murdered to be eaten, and human flesh being almost openly sold in the markets.[2] The multitude of the dead was so

[1] Quantus enim dolor tunc, quanta mœstitia, qui singultus, qui planctus, quæ lacrymæ a talia cernentibus datæ sint, . . . non valet stylus quispiam explicare characteribus. Æstimabatur enim ordo temporum et elementorum præterita ab initio moderans secula in chaos decidisse perpetuum, atque humani generis interitum.— *Hist. sui temporis*, lib. iv. cap. 4.

[2] Multi quoque de loco ad locum famem fugiendo pergentes hospitiis recepti, noctuque jugulati, quibus suscepti sunt, in cibum fuerunt; plerique vero pomo ostenso vel ovo pueris, ad remota circumventos trucidatos-

great that they could not be buried, and wolves flocked to feast on their bodies. Great numbers were tumbled promiscuously into vast trenches. A state of fierce cannibal savagery appeared likely to mark the end of a fallen and ruined race, for which the Lord had died in vain. It was not wonderful that men following their dead relations to the grave sometimes cast themselves into it, to end at once their intolerable life.

Looking back to that period it seems evident that the mind of a large part of Europe was in a state of semi-delirium. Common life was made up of marvelous things, as Michelet has said,[1] it was not merely interrupted by them; and such marvels took usually the shape of mysteries of darkness. Apparitions were seen in the daytime. Strange voices were heard in the air. Legends arose in ghastly aspects. Monks saw demons, like those which appeared to Raoul himself, of one of which he has left a particular description, as he saw the hideous mannikin at the foot of his bed, with its slim neck, coal-black eyes, narrow and wrinkled forehead, flat nose, lips puffed out, sharp-pointed ears, filthy and stiff hair, dog's teeth, etc., — as he felt the bed shaken by its touch, and heard it say, "Thou wilt not tarry here long."[2] Such dismal fancies were

que devoraverunt; corpora defunctorum in locis plurimis ab humo evulsa nihilominus fami subvenerunt, *et seq.* — R. GLABER: *Hist. sui temporis*, lib. iv. cap. 4.

[1] Les merveilles composaient la vie commune. — *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 133.

[2] Erat enim, quantum a me dignosci potuit, statura mediocris, collo gracili, facie macilenta, oculis nigerrimis, fronte rugosa et contracta, depressis naribus, os exporrectum, labellis tumentibus, mento subtracto et perangusto, barba caprina, aures hirtas et præacutas, capillis stantibus et incompositis, dentibus caninis, *et seq.*; totum terribiliter concussit lectulum, ac deinde infit; Non tu in hoc loco ultra manebis. — *Hist. sui temp.* lib. v. cap. 1.

Other instances of such apparitions follow in the chapter.

not limited to the cloister. The army of Otho the Great had seen the sun fading in Calabria, and had been seized with terrible fear, expecting the instant coming of the Judgment. When Otho Third caused the tomb of Charlemagne to be opened, it was reported that the Emperor had appeared to him, and forewarned him of coming death. King Robert, laying siege to an abbey in Burgundy, seeing a fog steaming up from the river, thought that the saints were appearing to fight against him, and precipitately fled with all his army. [1] His first wife, Bertha, his marriage with whom the Church had disapproved, was reported to have given birth to a monster, with a goose-like neck and head.[2] Nothing was too vile or too incredible to be popularly believed; and the belief in witchcraft got at that time a range and a sway of which after centuries felt the impression. The frightful and bloody scenes which subsequently attested the belief of men in present Satanic arts and energies are in no small degree to be attributed to this terrible passage in European experience.

Of course some effects of such a dreadful looking for of Judgment were at least partially good. Men became reconciled who had been at enmity. There was a wide if also a temporary reformation of manners. Large numbers of serfs were set free from the bonds which it was expected would soon be dissolved in celestial fires. Immense gifts of lands and treasure were made to the churches, of which some effects that were not evil came to appear in the following century. Especially, what was known as the Truce of God (la trève de Dieu) had its impulse in those years, by which men were forbidden to take anything by violence or to engage in strife from

[1] R. Glaber, Hist. sui temporis, lib. ii. cap. 8.

[2] Peter Damiani. See Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 152, note.

Wednesday night to the following Monday morning, under the penalty of death or exile. This was rapidly extended in France, though the time covered by it was variously abridged, and disasters falling on those who disobeyed it were believed to represent the Divine vengeance.[1] It was something, certainly, to fence out regularly a part of each week for the business and pleasure of quiet life. But, in the general, the effect of this dreary and fierce expectation of the end of the world was signally evil. It not only suspended industry, paralyzed incipient attempts at commerce, made men careless of the interests of themselves and their households; it wrought, as such frenzies always work, for the degradation of mind and character. It made fear the predominant motive in society. It excited in many the reckless fierceness of a complete desperation. A sceptical rebound against the whole system of the Christian religion became almost inevitable, after the thousand years from the passion of Christ had been completed without the expected world-disaster. Meantime communities were disorganized, any true secular or spiritual progress was made impossible, the grosser appetites of men seemed often inflamed to a fresh fury as the limits became sharper to the chance of their indulgence. It was a force not fettering only, but malign and destroying, which the expectation of the end of the world for forty years introduced into Europe.

Some lighter shades no doubt there should be on the lurid panorama which it has fallen to me to trace. No

[1] Hoc insuper placuit universis, veluti vulgo dicitur, ut *Treuga Domini* vocaretur; quæ videlicet non solum fulta præsidiis, verum etiam multotiens divinis suffragata terroribus. Nam plerique vesani audaci temeritate præscriptum pactum non timuere transgredi, in quibus protinus aut divina vindex ira, seu humanus gladius ultor extitit. — GLABER: *Hist.*, lib. v. cap. 1.

faithful picture of human society in any epoch can be wholly without such. Love and life were not extinguished. Childhood and motherhood had not ceased. Here and there must have lingered fancy and courtesy, smiles and laughter. Sunrise and sunset did not fail, and Nature had yet bland ministries for men. Home and Church, however unlovely, however oppressive, still continued, and human sensibility was not dead. There must have been those who faced the expected end without fear, and who saw the rainbow, like unto an emerald, around the Throne which was soon to appear. But few traces of such are left on the brief and stern annals; and the general picture of the society of the time can hardly be sketched save in darkness and fire. The very statues of the period, as Michelet suggests, are sad and pinched,[1] as if the dreadful apprehension of the age had sunken into the softened stone. The stern and ghastly mosaics on the walls of the Torcello church and of others bear the same impress.[2]

It is certainly not too much to say that no other period has appeared surpassing that in the general gloom and fear of Christendom, since the Son of God was crucified on Calvary. The earth again seemed to shiver, as under the cross; the heavens to be veiling themselves in eclipse, like that which of old had shrouded Jerusalem from the sixth hour to the ninth.

[1] Voyez ces vieilles statues dans les cathédrales du dixième et du onzième siècle, maigres, muettes et grimaçantes dans leur roideur contractée, l'air souffrant comme la vie, et laides comme la mort. Voyez comme elles implorent, les mains jointes, ce moment souhaité et terrible, cette seconde mort de la résurrection, qui doit les faire sortir de leurs ineffables tristesses, et les faire passer du néant à l'être, du tombeau en Dieu. C'est l'image de ce pauvre monde sans espoir après tant de ruines. — *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 133. Paris ed., 1835.

[2] Hemans, Sacred Art in Italy, vol. i. p. 68. London ed., 1849.

It looked as if the gospel had failed; as if the Church had wholly lost Divine virtue, amid the carnival of lust and blood; as if the wickedness of man had become too great to be longer endured; as if the history of the planet were about to be closed, might properly be closed, amid universal dread and death. Unless a wide reaction had followed after such extreme wretchedness and despair, the history of Western Christendom must soon have been finished. It is such a reaction which we next have to trace, with the real though limited opportunity which it finally gave to the higher aspirations and nobler forces of a man like Bernard.

LECTURE II.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: ITS REVIVING LIFE AND PROMISE.

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THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: ITS REVIVING LIFE AND PROMISE.

It is with a positive sense of relief, if not of distinct and glad satisfaction, that one emerges from the fetid gloom which in the tenth century and the early part of the eleventh overhung and oppressed the life of Europe, and enters the comparatively freer atmosphere which thenceforth begins to appear, — meeting a light by no means clear, but destined on the whole to rise and expand on prophetic skies; encountering movements which held at least some promise of good, and which offered encouragement to such reasonable hope as the preceding turmoil of crime and terror had seemed wholly to forbid. In this feeling I am sure that you will sympathize with me, while you will not expect that the story which I am this evening to recall will be without its heavy shadows, or will show sudden splendors contrasting and banishing the nearly intolerable previous darkness. Centuries, we sometimes need to remind ourselves, are not divided like house-lots, by fixed and definite artificial lines, the stable on one side being succeeded by the sumptuous house, or the mean booth abutting upon cathedral walls. The beginning and end of each century are marked by vanishing points of time; and the influence of each age asserts itself accordingly, with inevitable force, in that which follows, — as the in-

fluence of one stream, merging in another, imparts color to its waters, gives impulse to its movement, or by whirling cross-currents sometimes retards that and makes it sluggish. "Our clock strikes," as Carlyle has said, "when there is a change from hour to hour; but no hammer in the Horologe of Time peals through the universe when there is a change from era to era." [1]

It is not to be expected, therefore, that the eleventh century, or even the latter part of it, will be found to stand in absolute contrast with the period which preceded, when the mind of Western Christendom, as I have indicated, was not merely limited or grossly obscured, but was positively enfeebled; when the public temper was practically demoralized by calamity and by fear, and when society was reduced to perhaps the lowest point of enterprise and courage which it ever has reached since the Christian development began in Europe. It will be enough, I am sure, if we meet the signs of a vigorous reaction against the infectious and baneful forces which had paralyzed or fevered what were still leading communities of men; if we find indications of nobler private and public aspiration, giving us fair occasion to anticipate that the period yet to follow this will show religious and social advance, under fresh moral impulses, and will give opportunity to the eager activity and the consecrated energy of a man like Bernard. Such indications I am confident that we shall find; and it is necessary to present them with some particularity, that we may have distinctly before us the age in which his work was done, — an age so different from ours as hardly to seem part of the same time-cycle, yet different also from that through whose foul and frightful darkness we have been passing; an

[1] Miscellanies, vol. ii. p. 249. Boston ed. 1839.

age confused, but not hopelessly chaotic, perplexed by many evil forces and perilous tendencies, but with a certain moral life not wholly unresponsive to other appeals than those of battle-axe, bow, and pike.

In some respects Bernard was fortunate, as I hope to show, in both the needs and the promises of his times. They were not mere times of blood and iron. A reawakened spiritual force was coming to exhibition. Thought was already in his day more variously active. New and vast enterprises moved and lifted the mind of Christendom, which had been so long dangerously stagnant. Instructed minds and consecrated spirits could reach multitudes with an effect wholly impossible a century before him, while still ignorance was wide, vice general, superstition familiar. There was a large possibility in the times which he faced, though vast peril, too, as we cannot but see when we shall reach them. The demand which they made on men like the great Abbot of Clairvaux was constant and immense. I by no means affirm that according to the light in which we walk he always rightly interpreted that demand, or fully met it. But I am as sure as of my own life that he meant to do the work for which God had sent him, with unsparing fidelity; while I gladly see also that he had an opportunity, and found a measure of incitement and reward, for his vast service, which he could not have commanded at any previous time since Charlemagne was entombed. To set in clear outline before our minds, not merely the institutions, in Church or State, in the midst of which his life went on, the conflicts which he encountered, or the public crises which he had to front, but also the tendencies which he morally shared or vehemently repulsed, with the nascent helpful movements of society to which he gave vigor

and momentum, — this is the work which I wish to accomplish, for myself and for you. Until this is done, we cannot fairly set his figure, fine and strong and commanding as it is, on the canvas of his period. And this cannot be done, except as we review, with a still prolonged patience of survey, the changing but stormy and passionate years which more immediately preceded his life. This evening, therefore, I shall ask you to look, with an attention which possibly some among you may not before have given to it, at the latter two-thirds of that eleventh century almost at the close of which Bernard was born, and subsequently to which his spirit made its majestic impression on the life of mankind.

Even before the second expected year of general doom, A.D. 1033, had come and closed, the anticipation of the approaching end of the world had ceased, as I have intimated, to overwhelm so utterly as at first the minds of men. By far the more vivid apprehension had fastened upon the year A.D. 1000 as the term of earthly history; and though, after that, the consummation of the thousand years preceding the Judgment was carried forward by many imaginations to the year which was to mark a full millennium from the Lord's Ascension, it was not in human nature to be again startled and oppressed as men had been startled and terrified before. There was still apprehension; and society could hardly in the nature of things settle itself on sure foundations, while the possibility was yet present to men's minds that within a generation the moon and the sun might be turned into blood and stars be seen to fall from heaven, that the air might be blazing with the majesty of Christ's Throne, and the earth be dissolved into vapor of smoke. But as month followed month, and

the years trod on in silent succession, as children were born, and the weak and the aged died peacefully in their beds, as cabin and convent remained undisturbed, while seasons more or less fruitful and benign followed each other, the expectation of immediate destruction involving the earth and all upon it, though not finally expelled, grew fainter, remoter, and terrified less. And when the year A.D. 1033 had come and gone, while still the mountains stood as before and rivers flowed in their ancient channels, and nothing more alarming than occasional meteors had appeared in the sky, the upspring of confidence was swift and signal on many sides; and a strong impulse began to declare itself toward better administration in the Church and in the State, making these more appropriate to an undisturbed planet, and to a race continuing to possess it.

It was only natural that such a rebound of spirit toward better things should then become evident. The old life, fierce and wild, but resolute, intrepid, and by no means wanting in sagacity or in enterprise,—this, which had been in the barbarous tribes before Christianity had touched them with its power, and which had been refined and softened but not destroyed by the influence of that, as well as by contact with the Southern civilization, was still energetically present in Europe. Much of a savage childishness was in it; its thought was crude, its passions were impetuous, its fancies were often grim and ghastly; it had not much of cultured wisdom, of self-restraint, or intelligent piety; but courage belonged to it in large measure, with something of fortitude and of patience, with something even of executive skill. And it was not possible that such a diffused and animating life should remain content with things as they were. It must push forward, in spite

of all obstacles, and in the face of whatever might resist, toward ampler and sweeter conditions of existence, a more tranquil, prosperous, and prophetic development of what in society was wholesome and safe. The religion, too, which it had more or less roughly received, gave helps and incentives toward this social and moral movement.

The vast inheritance of historical Christianity was now a secure possession of Europe; and while they were not many, outside at least of convent and church, who could read familiarly the records of the Scripture, while the copies of these were by no means abundant, and while amid the obscuring rites with which the gospel had come to be encrusted its own radiance was painfully dimmed, was even at times intermittently hidden, — there still were those, in cottage and castle as well as in cloister, who knew something intellectually of the facts, the doctrines, and the promises of that gospel, and who had felt in their experience an impulse and uplift from the Faith. Supernal worlds were recognized by them; and from those high, inexhaustible sources an influence fell to strengthen and ennoble, as well as to enlighten. That the Son of God had been upon the earth, giving new sacredness to it; that by His cross atonement had been made for the sins of the penitent; that through His mediation the Spirit of God was sent to purify human souls; that His was a law above all human code and custom, that He was at last to judge the world, with each man upon it, and that beyond that Throne of judgment extended an existence unlimited by years, of pain or of peace according to men's relationship to Him, — these were conceptions which the general mind of Christendom had absorbed, and which in some had become intense and powerful convictions. The distinct im-

pression of them was sometimes shown even by those in whom it might least have been expected,— by vicious prelates, profligate princes, the robber knight, the dissolute woman, or the debauched and blasphemous monk. However stained with defilements, which all felt to be alien to it, the Church remained to the mind of that age the living monument, the teaching witness, of these transcendent and vital realities; and from the sense of eternal responsibility to Him who had returned from the earth to the heavens, the temper of the darkest and most degraded of all the centuries had not been able to shake itself free.

So it came to pass, then and afterward, almost as with the certainty of natural law, that the expectation of something better to be attained wrought with a secret energy in men's spirits. The Golden Age of heathen poets had been in the past. Amid the portentous glooms and terrors of the tenth century it had seemed as if the Golden Age of Christendom was also there, if anywhere, to be looked for. But when that frightful time had passed, and the fetters of an awful fear had fallen with it, the old life-force reasserted its vigor, and Christianity began again to show itself a power to renew and reinforce. It was felt that the earth was too near to God's thought to be permitted always to remain in bloody ruin. The centuries which were dated from the Angelic Hymn,— it could not be that they were to close amid wrecks of society, with the furious crash of chaotic battle. Sometime or other it must come to pass that the world at large would join in the anthem of Glory to God in the highest, with peace on earth to men of God's pleasure. So, from this time on, we trace a new impulse moving amid the sluggish centuries. Men themselves may not have been fully aware of it

at the time, but we looking back can discern it in history, as one sees the dawn brightening into day through imperceptible gradations, as one notes the change from the blue to the violet in the tints of the spectrum. In this fresh impulse is the key to almost everything which follows, in religious or in social life, onward to the end of the life of Bernard.

The empire was now partially re-established, though certainly more in name than in power, in the German line; and from the close of the tenth century to beyond the middle of the eleventh, the emperors, Otho Third, Henry Second, Conrad Second, Henry Third, were commonly princes of political ability. From the year A.D. 996 to A.D. 1031, Robert the Pious had been upon the throne of France; of whom Michelet says that in his simplicity of mind he seemed to have disarmed the Divine anger, having the peace of God incarnate in him.[1] His son, Henry First, reigned after him till A.D. 1060; and the grandson, Philip First, followed them on the throne till A.D. 1108. The power of these kings was never great; they were sovereigns hardly more than in title; and both in private life and in public affairs their counsels were often perplexed and timid, their activities limited in reach and effect. But such prolonged and continuous reigns gave a certain quietness to the general mind, with at least a measure of assistance to the new forces beginning to appear. The French nation was all the time growing toward power, perhaps in part by reason of the recognized weakness of its kings.[2] Cities

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were slowly gaining in population, increasing in importance, and becoming more sensible of their place in the world. Industry revived, and manufactures were extended, of humbler things as well as of armor, rich dresses, or decorated furniture. Not only carpets, tapestries, embroidered cloths, were wrought, with the magnificent ecclesiastical apparatus of altars, censers, chalices, reliquaries, candelabra, — a rude ceramic art appeared, and common utensils were more skilfully fashioned. By degrees commerce got itself liberated from the almost complete paralysis of the past, and began to knit communities together in the vital though frail and precarious threads of mutual relationship.

Even the weather seemed to take new aspects to the rekindled courage of men. After the year A.D. 1033, according to Glaber, the rains ceased, the clouds were dispersed, the smiling heavens reappeared, and hillside and plain were once more fruitful. There was strange abundance of food and wine, prices were reduced, the poor were supplied; it was, he says, like a return of the Mosaic Jubilee.[1] The French language began to

repos ou amour des plaisirs ; ils ne se sont pas signalés par une seule grande action. La nation française, au contraire, qui marque ses fastes par les époques de leur règne, s'agrandit et s'ennoblit d'année en année, acquiert à chaque génération des vertus nouvelles, et devient à la fin de cette même période l'école d'héroisme de tout l'occident, le modèle de cette perfection presque idéale qu'on désigna par le nom de chevalerie, et que les guerres des croisés, les chants des troubadours et des trouvères, et les romans même des nations voisines, rendirent propre à la France." — *Hist. des Français*, tom. iv. pp. 197–198. Paris ed., 1823.

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take at this time the form which in substance it has retained; it became the language of castles and courts, one of the principal dialects of Europe. About the middle of the eleventh century, Edward the Confessor introduced it into England;[1] and after William of Normandy had been crowned at Westminster, A.D. 1066, it was for a long time the legal language of the British realm. The power of the Saracens was now practically broken in Europe. They had been dislodged from Sardinia, A.D. 1022, by the combined forces of the Genoese and the Pisans. In the latter part of the century they were conquered in Sicily by the Normans. In the fifty years between A.D. 1026 and A.D. 1076 movements of Europeans to visit the Holy Land were carried forward in large proportions; and the spirit of enterprise thus expressed, with the results of that enterprise in increased knowledge and widened thought, aided the general tendency of Christendom toward more benign and salutary conditions.

All things thus predicted a change toward a more genial environment of life, with a finer and deeper quickening of its force; and of course reformation was first to be sought in the administration and spirit of the Church, from which, as it had been, such immense evils had incessantly flowed. I have spoken in the previous lecture of its general condition, as represented

potuit. Aliquis enim victus humanus, præter carnes seu deliciosa pulmentaria, nullius erat pretii; erat autem instar illius antiqui Mosaici magni Jubelei. — *Hist. sui temp.*, lib. iv. cap. 5.

[1] Ingulphus, who lived at the time, says that "all the nobles [in England] began to speak the Gallic tongue in their respective courts, as though it were the great national language, and to execute their charters and deeds after the fashion of the French." — *Hist. Croyland*, A. D. 1048.

by the pontiffs who in the tenth century had occupied and degraded in a dreadful succession the Papal chair. The disgust of Christendom, though long slumbering, and when first awakened languid and inert, had been at last sharply aroused against pontiffs like these; and wherever Christian faith survived, the necessity of a prompt purging of the Church was deeply felt. It had happened, too, that at the very end of the period which I have partially sketched, in the year A.D. 1033, perhaps the worst and most infamous of the popes, Benedict Ninth, had been raised to the pontifical throne; and from that time on to the term of his reign, A.D. 1048, he was adding intensity to the general disgust. His pontifical career seemed the last tremendous bolt shot out of a period rumbling with thunder and terrific with awful glooms. Among all men who knew his story, not among the thoughtful and pure-minded only, his name was infamous. Raised to the throne at the age of twelve years, twice at least expelled from the capital by the outraged citizens, and driven into exile before the fierce loathing and hate of clergy and laity, he at last sold the Papacy, as I have said, that he might be freer for his profligate pleasures. Failing, however, to find satisfaction in the varied abominations of his detestable private life, he forced himself again into Rome, where two rival popes now contended for his place. At last, one of his competitors having been poisoned, and the other being a man of character and influence, Benedict was persuaded or bribed to retire to a convent, where he died. A popular Italian legend described his ghost as afterward appearing in the form of a bear with the ears of an ass, and as saying, when asked the meaning of this horrible guise, "Because I lived without law or reason, God, and Peter, whose see

I contaminated by my vices, decree that I shall bear this image of a brute, not of a man."[1]

This intolerable career of Benedict Ninth filled to the brim the shame of Christendom, at the lust, simony, cruel greed and treacherous crime, which had so long been enthroned at the religious summit in Rome, and after him a succession of better pontiffs appeared: Leo Ninth, subsequently canonized, under whom the schism between the Eastern and Western churches was finally consummated, with mutual anathemas; Victor Second, who carried forward the work of reformation initiated by Leo, and under whom, as under Leo, theological discussion asserted its importance, as in the scrutiny to which Berengarius of Tours was subjected; Stephen Ninth, who exerted himself with vigor against simony, and against the immoral license of the priesthood; Nicholas Second, who carried on the plans of Stephen, and under whom was issued a decree giving a needed regularity and order to the election of the pontiff, by putting it in the hands of the higher Roman clergy. Then came Alexander Second, who had to fight against a competitor for the pontifical chair, but who in the midst of that strenuous conflict assumed to confer the English crown on William of Normandy, who exerted himself to shield the Jews from the cruelty of Christians, and who favored and furthered the measures of reform before introduced. And finally came Hildebrand, whose influence had been in fact controlling in the recent successive pontificates, and who in A.D. 1073 was raised himself to the chair of St. Peter, by the united voices of the Roman clergy, nobles, magistrates, and principal citizens, thenceforth to preside there, under

[1] Hemans, Hist. Med. Christ. and Sacred Art, vol. i. p. 86. London ed., 1869.

the title of Gregory Seventh, until his death, A.D. 1085.

We have reached one of the crises in history. Let us pause a moment to assure ourselves of the right point of view, from which to survey the fierce tangles and bloody collisions which were rapidly to follow. This point of view has perhaps sometimes been missed, even by those whose learned diligence has in many particulars made us their debtors.

In spite of the almost desperate condition to which Europe had descended after the Empire, through desolating craft, violence, fear, the rage of rapine, the utter absence of general law, and the frenzy of appalling superstition, the desire continued, as I have said, which here and there became a hope, of more propitious periods to come. Though historical records were few and scanty, the tradition survived of the better time which had sadly passed when the empire of Charlemagne fell with his life. It was at least dimly known that the distractions and degradations of two hundred years had followed a season which under him had been one of relative peace and promise; and it was widely if vaguely felt that a return to such conditions might not be impossible. But certainly no power, civil or military, remained in Europe which could hope to attain the continental prominence or the general sway which had belonged to the fallen Empire. Not one of all the kings or kingdoms then appearing could look for more than local dominion. Indeed each was compelled to fight for life, and to hold possession through constant struggle. If, therefore, there were to be again a power recognized and obeyed in all the lands, it could only be the power of the Church. The World-religion had not died, though the World-empire had vanished as a dream. The pope

was in presence, though the emperor, in anything else than a transient semblance of his former prerogative, was no more seen. To aggrandize the pope was, therefore, apparently the only means by which to restore unity to Europe. What Church and Empire had combined to accomplish in the earlier time, the Church alone was now left to attempt; and the separate contending secular powers must be made subordinate, as not hitherto, to the religious.

In this inarticulate but real and strenuous tendency of the age is the key to what followed, from the enthronement of Hildebrand as pope to the time of the birth of Bernard, and beyond that. It was this which gave to the determined and powerful pontiff his immense opportunity. It was this which sustained his defiant courage in the fiercest of his contests. It was this which made possible, which practically inspired, the enormous movement of the Crusades. It had only come to clearer distinctness, and attracted to itself the more earnest conviction of governing minds, when the great Abbot whom we are to interpret entered on his extraordinary career. If we hold in mind this general conception as to the temper and trend of the time, we shall more easily understand what was yet to intervene before his appearance in public life, and shall possibly observe with keener sympathy the unsurpassed force and patience with which he wrought, when his day had come, for effects which he thought radically essential to civilized progress, the value of some of which to our own time we must frankly admit.

Before us, as before the Europe of his time, the great — one might almost say the enigmatic — figure of Hildebrand rises to an eminence hardly surpassed in the annals of mankind. In the vehement controversies

which agitated Christendom in his time, which swept nations into arms, the swell of which has not yet wholly subsided, his name has been clothed with an evil renown by those who have dreaded and detested the principles of which he was the foremost champion. He was accused by those of his contemporaries who hated him, as multitudes did, not of arrogance only, and destroying ambition, but of falsehood and perjury, of heresy and infidelity, of using magical arts, and even of adultery; and the intensity of the hate which he awakened seems closely to have matched the greatness of the work which he undertook, and the energy and tenacity with which he pursued it. Even by the modern dispassionate student, after eight hundred years have passed since his death, it must be admitted that his temper was haughty, his genius at once vehement and subtile, and that he seems to have veiled his intentions, when they could not be exhibited to advantage, under forms of words ambiguous or deceptive. He is not to be accepted without reserve as hero and martyr. One is almost tempted to repeat, more in earnest, those probably affectionate and ironical words in which his friend Peter Damiani reproachfully addressed him as "Saint Satan."

But this, at least, must be said of Hildebrand: that those who knew him, and who chose him as pontiff, described him as "a religious man, of manifold science, endowed with prudence, a most excellent lover of justice, strong in adversity, temperate in prosperity, chaste, modest, sober, hospitable, from his boyhood well educated and learned;"[1] and, further, that according to his

[1] Eligimus nobis in pastorem et summum Pontificem virum religiosum, geminæ scientiæ prudentia pollentem, æquitatis et justitiæ præstantissimum amatorem, adversis fortem, prosperis temperatum, juxta Apostoli

conception of things the highest aims were always before him. He labored and suffered, he wrought and fought unflinchingly to the last, for ends which seemed to him Divine; and he gave in some directions a prodigious momentum to tendencies which needed to be broadly revived and effectively reinforced for the progress and welfare of Europe.[1]

To his forecasting and imperious mind it was evident as the day that of the two forms of organized power then existing on the Continent, — the secular, represented by civil and military governments, the spiritual, presenting itself in the universal Church, — the former was in all respects the inferior, to be directed, curbed, if need came to be crushed, by that whose prerogative was essentially higher. The secular State was always local; the Church alone was ecumenical. The former was in natural antagonism, usually, to others of its order; only the spiritual power stood by itself, without rivalry as without peer. The State contemplated temporal interests, in a coarse and blind way; the Church was intent, with an inerrant wisdom, on immortal welfares. The State organization depended on accidents of prox-

dictum bonis moribus ornatum, pudicum, modestum, sobrium, castum, hospitalem, domum suam bene regentem, in gremio hujus matris Ecclesiæ a pueritia satis nobiliter educatum et doctum, . . . quem a modo usque in sempiternum et esse et dici Gregorium Papam et Apostolicum, volumus et approbamus. — *Decretum electionis;* Acta Romæ, dec. kal. maje.

See Baronius, Ann. Eccles., tom. xvii. p. 357.

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, who entered the monastery of St. Evroult in the same year in which Gregory died, no doubt reports faithfully the impression of him which prevailed at the time among the devout and God-fearing monks: "His whole life was a pattern of wisdom and religion, maintaining a perpetual conflict against sin. . . . Inflamed with zeal for truth and justice, he denounced every kind of wickedness, sparing no offenders, either through fear or favor." — *Eccles. Hist.* b. vii. ch. 4.

imity, and was largely fashioned by greed, ambition, and an imperious self-will; the spiritual organism came from God, through His Son, and had His mind abiding in it. The vastest empire of the earth might entirely pass away, as even that of Charlemagne had done; the Church was as permanent as it was all-embracing, and not the fiercest gates of hell could at last prevail against it. The State, therefore, must be everywhere subordinate to the Church, serving it in a dependent and an ancillary office, while the ultimate regulation of all affairs, private or public, belonged to this supreme institution. The only hope for peace in Christendom, or for moral progress, in Hildebrand's view, was in the unflinching embodiment in practice of this prophetic, superlative idea.

He was the magnificent idealist of his time, its sovereign transcendentalist in the sphere of affairs; while his stubbornness of purpose and his tactical skill were not surpassed by any counsellor of kings or any captain of troops. He held himself the responsible minister on earth of the Divine jurisprudence; the authoritative head of the one institution which had the ages for its own, the continents for its area, and whose mission it was to shield, to instruct, and essentially to unify all peoples of mankind. To the fulfilment of this incomparable and awful office he had been called by the voice of the Church, articulating the will of the Holy Ghost; and to it his life was thenceforth devoted. He abjured pleasure, renounced ease, was careless of security, was ready for any hardest labor, that he might make his life an offering to what he esteemed the sovereign idea and interest of mankind, — "pro Ecclesia Dei."

You know, in general, the story of his career. Of lowly birth, the son of a carpenter in a small Tuscan

town, the German name Hildebrand was given him at baptism, transformed to "Hellebrand" in the Italian pronunciation,—a name which his admirers afterward interpreted as "a living flame," which those who hated him understood to mean "a brand of hell."[1] The German name has been taken by some as possibly indicating that German blood mingled with Italian in the veins of him before whom afterward the German emperor was to be humbled; but of this there seems no other indication. The humbleness of his birth, in contrast with the dignities to which he was raised, illustrates well that democracy of the Church which even Voltaire discerned and honored.[2] Whatever else the Church might lack, it had always this moral superiority above the other governments of the time,—that it estimated talent more highly than strength, it honored the moral sensibility and energy which in camps were contemptuously despised, and it offered opportunity to the humblest child, whom feudalism regarded as next of kin to the clods, to raise himself, if mind and will were equal to it, to the highest office. One cannot wonder that such a scheme of government stood near and noble before the hearts of the people, any one of whose children might through it become a chief over princes.

It was natural that the bright and eager Tuscan boy should be sent to Rome, to be educated there, in a monastery on the Aventine hill, and that from thence in his

[1] Pro varia dialecto varie nomen hoc scribitur, — Hiltebrant, Hildebrand, Heldebrant, et (suavioris pronuntiationis causa) etiam Hellebrand; quod postremum, quia varie accipi potest, inimicis Gregorii et maledicis occasionem dedit. *Infernalem titionem;* quamvis Helle, non solum substantive infernum, sed adjective etiam Clarum significet. — *S. Greg. VII., Vita, Paulo Bernried,* note 2.

[2] Essai sur les Mœurs: Œuvres, iii. 571, 606, 607. Paris ed., 1877.

young manhood he should enter as a monk into the great, wealthy, and at that time the strict monastery of Clugni in Burgundy.[1] Some of the friendships there formed continued through his life; and amid whatever subsequent power or splendor of surroundings, he seems to have retained the habits of an anchorite, eating only vegetables, and mentioning once to Peter Damiani that he had come to abstain from leeks and onions because of scruples which he felt at the pleasure which they afforded.

Having already once gone from Clugni to Rome, during the shameful pontificate of Benedict Ninth, he again and finally went thither, A.D. 1049, with Bruno, Bishop of Toul, who had been appointed pope by an assembly at Worms, and who afterward became famous as Leo Ninth. By this pontiff, who leaned always upon the counsel of Hildebrand and desired to keep him near at hand, he was appointed Superior of the monastery of St. Paul without the Gates, — an establishment then fallen into decay, almost into ruin, through the gross vices prevailing in it, and the unchecked violence of neighboring nobles. Hildebrand restored the ancient rule of the Abbey, with its austere discipline; he augmented its revenues and recovered much of its former property, which had been diverted into lay hands by

[1] The name of the famous abbey is variously spelled, Clugni, Clugny, Cluny, Cluni. It is uniformly spelled in these lectures in the first form, as that is the one which appears in the charter on which it was originally founded, which runs thus: —

"Que tous les fidèles qui sont et qui seront jusqu'à la consommation des siècles sachent que, pour l'amour de Dieu et de J.-C. notre Sauveur, j'ai donné aux Saints Apôtres Pierre et Paul, avec ses dépendances, la terre de

brigand seigneurs; and he gave evidence, even then, of the extraordinary faculty for administration, and the yet more extraordinary gifts for command over men, which were afterward to be shown on a larger arena. To his ardent imagination Saint Paul himself seemed personally manifest, in a vision inspiring him by significant gesture to the arduous work of cleansing and restoring the ancient foundation.[1] The monks yielded to his intrepid and imperious energy, and attributed to him an almost supernatural power of discerning the thoughts of men.

After the death of Leo Ninth the succeeding popes were appointed largely through the influence of Hildebrand; and upon the death of Alexander Second, April 21, A.D. 1073, the Tuscan monk, who had not yet been ordained a priest, but whose genius and spirit had had clear recognition among the clergy and the citizens of Rome, was elected by them to the pontificate with tumultuous unanimity. In the following June, after a delay which his enemies considered wholly hypocritical, which his friends attributed to modest sensibility, and a just awe in presence of such immense responsibilities, having a few days before been ordained priest, he was consecrated pope.

He had before him from the outset two ends to be attained,— the enfranchisement of the Church, through its established and unquestioned supremacy over secular powers, and the reform of it to purer morals, and to what was to his mind a majestic and beneficent spiritual life. As different as it is possible for one to be, in par-

[1] Apparens ei B. Paulus in basilica sua stabat, ac palam manibus tenens stercora boum, de pavimento levabat, ac foras jactabat; . . . jussitque eum palam apprehendere, et fimum (sicut ipse fecerat) ejicere. — *Vita S. Greg. VII., Paulo Bernried*, cap. i. 8.

ticulars of doctrine, and in all the outward circumstances of life, from those who are known as "Puritans" in our history, he was the supreme Puritan of his century; and a descendant of those who made the early New England religious and famous may frankly admit admiration for him, with a certain measure of sympathy in his aims. What to him was the Divine righteousness, he meant to make the universal law of the Church, and through that the law of all the peoples whom the Church could command. In his intense enthusiasm for this is the key to his crowded and battling life. Against simony, of course, and the purchase of ecclesiastical office either by money or by promise, he vigorously fought; against the appointment of bishops and abbots by secular princes, and the investing of them by laical hands with the crozier and the ring, making them in effect feudal dependants upon a sovereignty which was only of the world;[1] against the foul, unnatural vices which Leo Ninth had vehemently denounced, which were still flagrantly common in convents; against the concubinage in which multitudes of the priests openly lived; and, as fiercely as against anything else, against the lawful marriage of priests, which, in spite of the efforts of preceding popes was still recognized and common throughout Europe, — against all these abuses and of-

[1] Si quis deinceps episcopatum vel abbatiam de manu alicujus laicæ personæ susceperit, nullatenus inter episcopos vel abbates habeatur, nec ulla ei ut episcopo aut ablati audientia concedatur. Insuper ei gratiam beati Petri, et introitum ecclesiæ interdicimus, quoad usque locum, quem sub crimine tam ambitionis quam inobedientiæ, quod est scelus idolatriæ, deseruerit. Similiter etiam de inferioribus ecclesiasticis dignitatibus constituimus. Item, si quis Imperatorum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, vel quilibet sæcularium potestatum, aut personarum, investituram episcopatus, vel alicujus ecclesiasticæ dignitatis dare præsumpserit, ejusdem sententiæ vinculo se astrictum sciat. — *Lab Conc.* p. 342.

fences, as he held them to be, and as some of them were, Gregory put forth his utmost energy, and against them he wielded the anathemas of the Church with an unwearied hand.

As a matter of course, these efforts wrought always toward the effect of making the pontiff supreme throughout Christendom. That was his aim. But it does not appear that personal ambition was at the root of his plans, or had over them a governing influence. The supremacy of the Church, of which he was for the time the head, its supremacy throughout the civilized world, for the welfare of man and the glory of God, — this was the ideal which rained upon him its ceaseless influence. To this end he meant to have, it was in his view indispensable that he should have, every bishop a representative of the pontiff at Rome, dependent upon him and removable by him, and to have all priests his obedient servants, while special legates should be his ministers in every court and every council. The "Dictates" promulgated by him at the council in Rome, A. D. 1076, as presenting fundamental maxims of the Church, express and illustrate his whole theory. Among them are these: —

"The Roman Church is founded by God alone.

"The Roman pontiff alone is justly called universal.

"His legate takes precedence of all bishops in a council, though he be of inferior rank; and he has power to pronounce against them the sentence of deposition.

"The pope may depose those absent.

"All princes shall kiss the feet of the pope alone.

"It is lawful for him to depose emperors.

"No council may be called a General Council without the pope's order.

"No capitulary, no book, can be esteemed canonical without his authority.

"His sentence can be revoked by no one, and he alone can revoke the sentences of all others.

"He can be judged by none.

"No one may dare to pronounce condemnation on one who appeals to the Apostolic See.

"The Roman Church has never erred, nor forevermore will it err, the Scripture remaining [restante].

"Without convening a synod he [the Roman pontiff] may depose or reconcile bishops.

"No one is to be esteemed a Catholic who does not wholly accord [concordat] with the Roman Church."[1]

Here is the scheme of Gregory, definitely and defiantly set forth before the Church and the world. He claimed for the papacy the greatest conceivable authority on earth, such as, according to the emphatic words of Villemain, "rendered every other power useless and subaltern;"[2] and this was the scheme which he was determined to make actual in Europe, as against all feudal institutions, all kingly authority, all art and craft of soldiers and princes, all resistance of ecclesiastics of whatever degree. In that way, and no other, should the states of the Continent be compacted together in a permanent unity. In comparison with so colossal a scheme, Napoleon's conception of a universal empire on the Continent, with France at its head, appears coarse and commonplace. Compared with it the subjugation of nations to the ancient imperial Rome had been a matter wholly superficial. The largest

[1] Baronius, Annales Ecclesiast., tom. xvii. pp. 430–431. Lucæ, 1745.

[2] Jamais puissance plus grande n'avait été créée ; elle rendait tout autre pouvoir inutile et subalterne. — *Hist. de Grég. VII.*, tom. ii. p. 61.

schemes of military conquest and political subordination which had ever occupied the genius of Charlemagne were low and limited as measured against this. Only one of the great minds in history could have accepted such a scheme, and have presented it in such majestic and intolerable distinctness. Only a wide reach of circumstances could have suggested it; and perhaps only the tremendous concussion of doctrines so sweeping and so unsparing could have smitten with the shock which then was needed the dulled mind and half-awakened spirit of the populations to which they were addressed. Atrocities of action had been familiar at Rome. Profligacy of manners, an even eccentric vileness of character, in the head of the Church, would hardly have startled communities which still remembered Benedict Ninth. But it was not possible for Europe to be insensible before this claim of a right which annulled or suspended all other human obligations, — before this asserted authority of one man to govern on earth, and to open or shut the gates of heaven.

It must always be remembered, too, in justice to Gregory, that it was not a corrupt Church, as he recognized corruptness, it was not a Church of simoniacal ecclesiastics, of licentious, ignorant, and indolent priests, of worldly, luxurious, half-military prelates, which he thus sought to make universal. He meant to make it pure, as I have said, through a return to austere discipline, and by the promotion of an ascetic piety. He meant that its purity should match its supremacy; that piety should be fostered, the poor be protected, a celestial life be presented in the world, by that Divine organism, as to him it appeared, against which the power of the most audacious and insolent ruffian, of the haughtiest baron, of the proudest sov-

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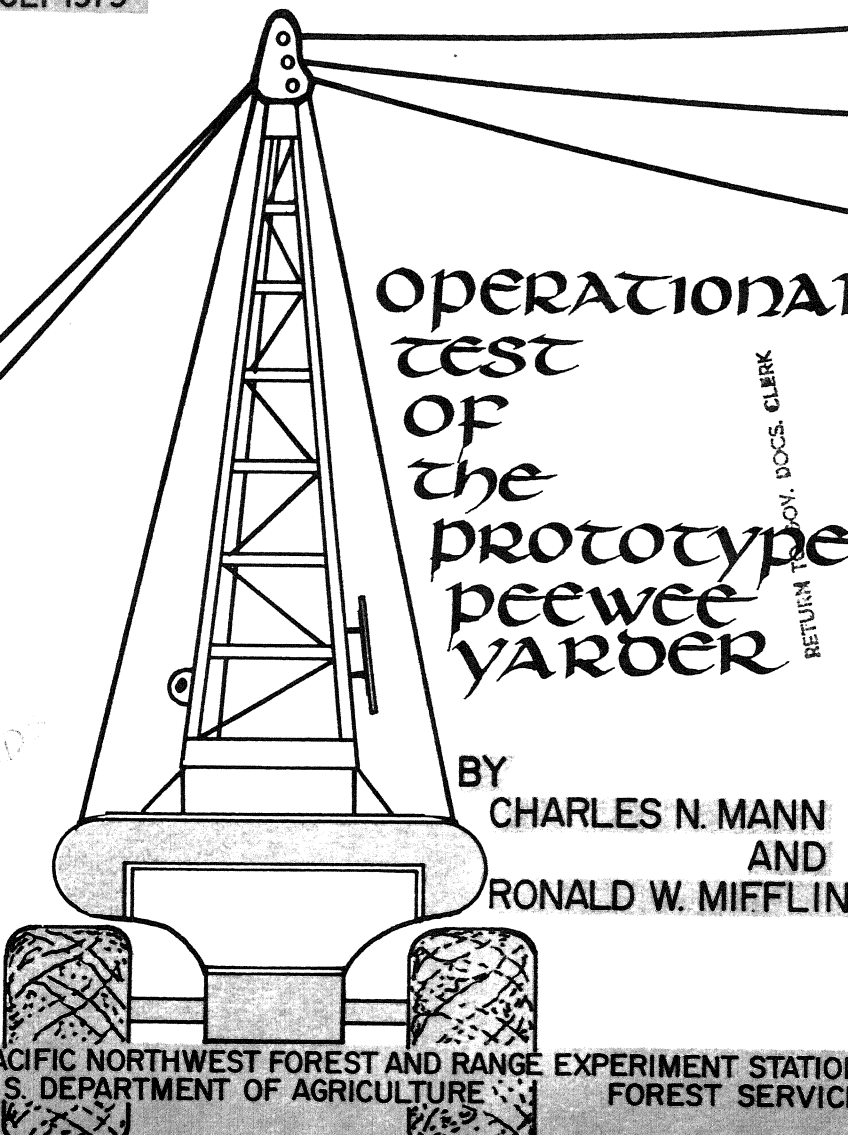

OPERATIONAL TEST OF THE PROTOTYPE PEEWEE YARDER

RETURN TO GOV. DOCS. CLERK

BY
CHARLES N. MANN
AND
RONALD W. MIFFLIN

ACIFIC NORTHWEST FOREST AND RANGE EXPERIMENT STATIO
S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOREST SERVIC

own sense of sin, and his hope of salvation through the merits of Christ alone. "When I look at myself," he wrote to his friend the Abbot of Clugni, "I find myself oppressed with such a burden of sin that no other hope of salvation is left me save in the mercy of Christ alone;"[1] and in a pontifical letter circulated throughout Germany A.D. 1077, he says, with what seems a sad sincerity, "We know that we have been ordained and placed in the Apostolic chair to this end, that we should seek in this life, not our own interests, but the things of Christ, and should walk forward through many labors, in the steps of the Fathers, to future and eternal rest through the mercy of God."[2] I cannot for myself resist the conviction that he felt himself a Divine minister, authorized and instructed to make spiritual ideas, laws, and welfare supreme in the world; to limit and suspend the authority of princes, which had sprung from self-will, and had been confirmed by craft and blood, before that of the priest, derived from God; to maintain and administer the universal theocracy of which he had become the temporary head, but in which, as he thought, the Most High would be honored, and the peace, holiness, and joy of mankind be illustriously secured.

[1] Ad meipsum cum redeo, ita me gravatum propriæ actionis pondere invenio ut nulla remaneat spes salutis, nisi de sola misericordia Christi. Nam si non sperarem ad meliorem vitam, et utilitatem sanctæ Ecclesiæ venire, nullo modo Romæ, in qua coactus, Deo teste, jam a viginti annis inhabitavi, remanerem. — *Opera S. Greg. VII.*, lib. ii. ep. xlix.

[2] Magis enim volumus mortem, si hoc oportet, subire, quam, propria voluntate devicti, ut Ecclesia Dei ad confusionem veniat consentire. Ad hoc enim nos ordinatos et in apostolica sede constitutos esse cognoscimus, ut in hac vita non quæ nostra sed quæ Iesu Christi sunt quæramus, et per multos labores Patrum sequentes vestigia ad futuram et æternam quietem, Deo miserante, tendamus. — *Ibid.*, lib. iv. ep. xxiv.

Of course a scheme so vast as this, and so revolutionary as against customs of life and institutes of government everywhere recognized, had to encounter the fiercest resistance on many sides. It could not be set in operation at all except against the instant opposition of every greedy and profligate monk; of every bishop or abbot who had entered upon his office by purchase or promise; of every noble who wanted a priesthood to give license to his lusts; of the German Emperor most of all, who had inherited a great title with an important secular power, whose predecessors had appointed and deposed popes, and to whom it seemed the wildest fantasy that the Bishop of Rome should claim supremacy over one who represented, though in a measure so far inferior, the early prerogative of Charlemagne. Even the purest class of the priests, those who were married, in happy homes, with wives by their side and children around them, looked with equal fear and horror on this pontifical purpose to cast dishonor on their wives, and to take from their children inheritance and name. Archbishops were stoned in their pulpits when they read the decrees; abbots were dragged from the assemblies, and hardly rescued alive. The rancor excited had almost no precedent. A man at Cambrai was burned alive for upholding the decrees.[1]

Of course, too, Gregory had no armed forces at his command sufficient to carry into effect his amazing and daring plan. Indeed, he was not always secure in the capital, or in St. Peter's; and it is a noticeable fact that, as Alexander Second had not been in quiet possession of Rome when he sent his blessing to William of Normandy, with the consecrated banner bearing the

[1] Gregory himself is the authority for this. — *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. xx.

...ns Dei blazing on it in gold embroidery, and as... to transfer the kingdom to him, so Gregory was ... in church, was taken prisoner and subjected ... by Roman brigands, at the very time when, ... pontiff, he claimed authority over kings ... ors, whose privilege it was to kiss his

... had, at the same time, vast powers with which ... an equipment of instruments which no ... had, with some signal opportunities for ... The genius of the Roman Church had always ... not so much in eloquence of speech, or ... of writing, as in careful, compact, and ... ation. The entire control of that or... had now been matured and consoli... in the hands of Gregory, to be used ... steadiness and strength of his extraor... The imperial place of the great capital ... never been practically lost. Remote ... ments of those who had stricken and ... Empire, still looked with wonder... enthroned upon the hills to which ... world-wide fame. Especially, every ... stood in conscious relation to the ... His education affiliated him with ... was his official vernacular; and no ... the constant effect of this, Greg... ...slation of the offices of the Church ... was, for example, the Slavonic.[1]

... Duke of Bohemia: —

... dixit quod secundum Sclavonicam lin... ...cari annueremus Officium, scias nos huic ... favere. Ex hoc nempe sæpe volventibus ... Scripturam omnipotenti Deo placuisse quibus-

Being divorced, too, from family ties, if the scheme of the Pontiff could be accomplished, the Church would become the only country of every priest, with Rome for its imposing centre. If, then, that Church were purged of scandals, redeemed from iniquities, revitalized with a unifying life, he at the head of it would hold Christendom in his hand, to govern and guide it at every point.

His own character gave him prodigious advantage. Those who reviled him knew that their reproaches were in large measure a mere gnashing of teeth. The dignity of his life, his patience, fortitude, and steadfastness of spirit, were in illustrious contrast not only with the wretched and infamous prelates who had often preceded him, but with the character and life of such principal antagonists as Henry Fourth, of Germany, and Philip First, of France. The men of nobler thought and temper were widely in sympathy with him, while the poor, who had been oppressed with relentless severity by soldiers and nobles, were elated by his power, and anticipated a refuge more accessible and secure than they perhaps found in his sublime appellate authority. The superstitious temper of the time supplied precisely the element which he needed to make his assaults on his opponents effective. When calamities threatened part of Germany, and the monarch had defied him, it was currently reported that the very images of Christ in the churches had broken into bloody sweat, that real blood had appeared, excluding even the accidents of wine, in the sacramental cup. When the Bishop of Utrecht had disregarded the anathemas

dam locis esse occultam, ne, si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret et subjaceret despectui, aut prave intellecta a mediocribus in errorem induceret. — *Opera*, lib. vii. ep. xi.

of the Pontiff, and encouraged the king also to defy them, it was believed that his death, soon following, had been attended with strange anguish, and that he himself had seen devils around him, and had declined offered prayers as of no avail.[1] There was something more terrible to men's imagination in that perplexed and anxious time than warriors in mail, — even the invisible celestial hosts, of which the silent air was full. There was a power more awful than that of barons or kings, though their castles were strong, their troops many, their torture-chambers terrible to think of. It was the power which, after men were killed, had authority to cast their souls into hell. The mind of Europe thus generally responded to the words of Gregory when he admonished a prelate favorable to Henry, and through him Henry himself, that the power of kings and emperors, and all combined endeavors of mortals, as opposed to the apostolic rights and the omnipotence of God, were only as a vanishing spark and as light chaff.[2] So the amazing spectacle became possible of a weak and sickly man at Rome, of slight frame and low stature, as he is described, sixty years old, without armies, without princely allies, sometimes destitute, as he said, of all help of man, contending fearlessly, to a great extent successfully, to establish a system against which the most powerful rulers of the Continent fought with the instinct of self-preservation, sometimes with the fierce energy of despair.

It would have been, it seems to us, the destruction

[1] Villemain, Hist. de Grég. VII., tom. ii. p. 66.

[2] Atque hoc in animo gerens, quod regum et imperatorum virtus, et universa mortalium conamina, contra apostolica jura et omnipotentiam summi Dei quasi favilla computentur et palea, nullius unquam instinctu vel fiducia adversus divinam et apostolicam auctoritatem obstinata temeritate te rebellem et pertinacem fieri libeat. — *Operæ*, lib. iii. ep. viii.

of civilization, the conversion of the Church into an engine of remorseless oppression, if the scheme of Hildebrand had wholly prevailed. We find a measure of the progress of the centuries in the hopeless absurdity of putting such a scheme into practice to-day. But we may not forget that, as the matter appeared to him at the time, it was more than a contest even for the unity of Europe; it was a contest of the spiritual against the physical; of faith against force; of the poor and obscure against haughty oppressors; of that which was founded in the Divine order against that which had sprung from human self-will; in a word, it was the contest of God in His Church against the world, the flesh, and the devil. We may call the conscience which had formed itself in him a special, official, and secondary conscience, as artificial in nature as it was imperative and unsparing in impulse. I think, for myself, that it may be properly thus described. But it was his conscience at the time; and at its dictation he flung his life into the prodigious crucial combat with an unsparing energy. With absolute fearlessness of what man could do, he bore his own part in it. With an unrelaxing zeal he pursued it, till the day when he died at Salerno, in the early summer of A.D. 1085, a fugitive from his capital, a pensioner on his friends, exclaiming, with almost his latest breath, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." The stormy pontificate of twelve years was ended there. The nearly seventy years of his life were finished, under heavy shadows, and the commanding and vehement spirit left at last the meagre, wearied, and wasted frame. But the consequences of his intrepid life and remarkable work long survived, and to their importance no reader of history can be blind.

Undoubtedly, the fiercest clash of the conflict, the echo of which has ever since resounded in the world, came in his persistent contest, ending only with his pontifical life, with Henry Fourth of Germany, whom he had recognized as king, and to whom he permitted the title of emperor, though refusing to crown him. Henry fought against Gregory by intrigue and by arms, with all the fury of his ambitious and passionate nature. A council of bishops, abbots, and lords, from all parts of the empire, convened by the king at Worms, A.D. 1076, pronounced Gregory an apostate monk, who had unlawfully seized the papacy, who used magical arts, who degraded theology by new doctrines, who mingled sacred things with profane, separated wives from their husbands, preferred adultery and incest to lawful marriage, deceived the people with a fictitious religion, was ruining the papacy, and was guilty of high treason. Therefore it proceeded to depose him, — a sentence which was hailed with joy by multitudes on the south of the Alps as well as in Germany. Gregory responded with a terrific anathema, and in turn declared Henry deposed, and loosed all Christian subjects from allegiance to him. With an emphasis possible to no other man, he set before Europe his favorite doctrine that civil and military dignities had been the product of an age which knew not God; that dukes and princes had come to exist because they had dared, in their blind passion and intolerable pride, to set themselves up by instigation of the Devil, and with the commission of every crime, as masters over men who had been created their equals; and that when they sought to make the priests of the Lord follow in their path, they were only to be compared to the Devil himself, who had said aforetime to the chief of all priests,

the Son of God, "all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."[1]

The fierce swing of the papal words was enough of itself to startle rude minds; and the terrible democracy of his appeal to peoples to disregard the authority of a king who had incurred the censure of the Church, — the apparently triumphant energy with which this son of a Tuscan mechanic, enthroned by the Church, faced the arts and the arms of one born in the purple, and called the faithful, of whatever rank, to disown and destroy his unrighteous power, — this stirred to its depths the mind of the Continent, as it had never before been stirred since Charlemagne became Emperor of the West. It frightened, long afterward, the eloquent Bossuet, when he thought of such a power as capable of being employed even against his magnificent sovereign. Undoubtedly, the Declaration of the clergy of France touching the ecclesiastical power, formulated by him, had here in part its motive.[2] Certainly the claim

[1] Quis nesciat reges et duces ab iis habuisse principium, qui, Deum ignorantes, superbia, rapinis, perfidia homicidiis, postremo universis pene sceleribus, mundi principe diabolo videlicet agitante, super pares, scilicet homines, dominari cæca cupiditate et intolerabili præsumptione affectaverunt? Qui videlicet, dum sacerdotes Domini ad vestigia sua inclinare contendunt, cui rectius comparentur quam ei qui est caput super omnes filios superbiæ, qui ipsum summum pontificem sacerdotum caput Altissimi Filium tentans, et omnia illi mundi regna promittens, ait: Hæc omnia tibi dabo, si procidens adoraveris me? — *Opera*, lib. viii. ep. xxi.; col. 596.

[2] His words are as clear and emphatic as language permits [A. D. 1682]: —

Que Saint Pierre et ses successeurs, vicaires de Iésus-Christ, et que toute l'Église même, n'ont reçu de puissance de Dieu que sur les choses spirituelles et qui concernent le salut, et non sur les choses temporelles et civiles: Jésus-Christ nous apprenant lui-même que son royaume n'est point de ce monde, et, en un autre endroit, qu'il faut rendre à César ce qui est à César, et à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu. . . . Nous déclarons en conséquence que les rois et les souverains ne sont soumis à aucune puissance ecclésiastique, par

of right put forth by Gregory was of stupendous height and reach. But he shrank not for a moment from the conflict which it challenged. Faith in the Church appeared to him, as in fact it was at that time in Europe, the only universal unifying force. The purified Church was not merely to train saintly men for the heavens, it was to educate, purify, and govern by its law the nations on the earth. He wrote to the legates sent by him to Germany, "You know that it appertains to the providential mission of the See Apostolic to judge in whatever businesses concern Christian commonwealths, and to regulate them by the dictates of righteousness."[1] He wrote to the same effect, not to Henry alone, or to Philip First of France, but to William the haughty conqueror of England, whose aid he desired, whose lack of ardor in his cause he reproved, and whose severity of temper he perfectly knew. To him he compared the pontificate to the sun, and royalty to the moon, while he

l'ordre de Dieu, dans les choses temporelles ; qu'ils ne peuvent être déposés directement ni indirectement par l'autorité des clefs de l'Église ; que leurs sujets ne peuvent être dispensés de la soumission et de l'obéissance qu'ils leur doivent, ou absous du serment de fidélité ; et que cette doctrine, nécessaire pour la tranquillité publique, et non moins avantageuse à l'Église qu'à l'état, doit être inviolablement suivie, comme conforme à la parole de Dieu, à la tradition des saints pères, et aux exemples des saints. — *Œuvres Choisies de Bossuet*, tom. v. pp. 335–336. Paris ed., 1822.

Bossuet's subsequent defence of the Declaration was elaborate, learned, and very eloquent; but he seems to have shrunk, six hundred years after, from direct collision with the words and acts of Gregory.

[1] Scitis enim quia nostri officii et apostolicæ sedis est providentiæ majora Ecclesiarum negotia discutere, et dictante justitia definire. Hoc autem quod inter eos agitur negotium tantæ gravitatis est tantique periculi, ut si a nobis fuerit aliqua occasione neglectum, non solum illis et nobis, sed etiam universali Ecclesiæ magnum et lamentabile pariat detrimentum. — *Epist.*, lib. iv. ep. xxiii.

The business in hand at that time was to decide whether Henry or Rudolph should be Emperor of Germany !

promised to the successful and masterful king further increase of power as the reward of an increase of piety.[1]

No doubt he was ambitious of success. No doubt what Villemain has excellently described as "the clever instinct of power" ["cet habile instinct du pouvoir"] taught him that such fierce domination of tone would have its effect on the stubborn natures which he addressed. But he certainly seems to have been sincere in his primary conviction that the purified Church should govern the Continent, govern the world; and that the secular order, even as represented by conquering kings, should be subordinate to the spiritual which Christ had ordained, of which the Holy Ghost was the perpetual vivifying energy, and of which it had come to pass that he for the time was the consecrated head.

His missionary activities went on all the time, while he was contending with such incessant and vehement vigor against the devices and arms of Henry. In Hungary, Bohemia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, his efforts to extend Christianity were constant. He sent teachers, animated by his contagious enthusiasm, to those remote and inhospitable countries. He sought assiduously to draw young men from them, to be instructed at Rome in learning and religion. He was not afraid of the fury of the greatest. He was not unmindful of the crimes of the weaker. The Bishop of Cracow had been

[1] Sicut enim ad mundi pulchritudinem, oculis carneis diversis temporibus repræsentandam, solem et lunam omnibus aliis eminentiora disposuit luminaria, sic, ne creatura, quam sui benignitas ad imaginem suam in hoc mundo creaverat, in erronea et mortifera traheretur pericula, providit in apostolica et regia dignitate per diversa regeretur officia. Qua tamen majoritatis et minoritatis distantia religio sic se movet Christiana, ut cura et dispensatione apostolicæ dignitatis post Deum gubernetur regia.—*Opera*, lib. vii. ep. xxv.

The words of Gregory were repeated by Innocent Third, a century later.

assassinated, by the order of Boleslas, king of Poland, whom his reprimands had offended. Instantly, from the watchful pontiff, flashed forth an interdict on the kingdom. The churches were shut to all divine offices, the violent king was deposed, excommunicated, driven from his kingdom, and in his flight is said to have been killed and devoured by dogs. Whatever the faults of Hildebrand were, aside from the prolific primary error of confounding the pontificate with Christianity, it cannot be said that he was swayed from what to him appeared his just purpose by any threats or any flatteries; that he yielded or cringed before power; that he burdened the weak because they were weak, or tolerated and pardoned the sinner who was strong. He sacrificed the dearest ambition of his life — the initiation of a crusade to recover Jerusalem, which he had hoped to lead in person — to his determination to have Europe compacted, educated, and governed by a purified Church. Only once, I think, did he for a moment relax his decrees against the continuing and demoralizing simony, or on behalf of clerical celibacy. Toward the end of his life, when the difficulties in his path appeared insurmountable, when it looked as if the papacy itself must be fatally stricken by the forces against it, and chaos must follow, he undoubtedly did this, allowing a temporary suspension of the rigor of his rules.[1] With this exception he held to his standard of what to him appeared the purity of the Church, with its proper lordship over continent and world. He went even to the perilous

[1] His letter to his legates, in part, ran : Quod vero de sacerdotibus interrogastis, placet nobis ut impræsentiarum, tum propter populorum turbationes, tum etiam propter bonorum inopiam, scilicet quia paucissimi sunt qui fidelibus Christianis officia religionis persolvant, pro tempore rigorem canonicum temperando, debeatis sufferre. — *Opera*, lib. ix. ep. iii.

extreme of implicitly denying the objective validity of the sacraments, and conditioning their virtue on the personal character of the officiating priest, when he called the faithful to refuse those sacraments as administered by simoniacal prelates, or by those whom such had ordained.[1] The consequences of this came afterward, in effects from which Gregory himself might have shrunk; but at the time he did not hesitate. He threw his whole force, to the last atom, into the contest. Even the wide disuse of religious rites did not frighten him. He summoned the people to take part with him against all powers in Church or State which did not submit to his decrees, even if under the terms of such decrees the new-born babe received no baptism, the penitent sinner no absolution, the dying no saving viaticum. He was determined on his end, and so far as the titular emperor was concerned it seemed in January, A.D. 1077, as if that end had been fully attained.

Excommunicated, and pontifically deposed, with rebellion constantly widening at home, deserted and ardently antagonized by his mother, perhaps with the superstitious fears natural to a violent and undisciplined mind awakening in him, Henry, in that year,

[1] Anno Domini MLXXIV., Gregorius sedit in cathedra Romana annis duodecim, mense uno, et tribus diebus, qui Hildebrandus vocatus antea fuerat. Iste Papa in synodo generali simoniacos excommunicavit, uxoratos sacerdotes a divino removit officio, et laicis missas eorum audire interdixit, novo exemplo et, ut multis visum est, inconsiderato judicio, contra sanctorum patrum sententiam, qui scripserunt, quod sacramenta quæ in ecclesia fiunt, baptisma, chrisma, corpus Christi et sanguis, Spiritu invisibiliter co-operante eorundem sacramentorum effectum, seu per bonos seu per malos intra Dei ecclesiam dispensentur; tamen quia Spiritus Sanctus mystice illa vivificat, nec bonorum meritis amplificantur, nec peccatis malorum attenuantur. Ex qua re tam grave oritur scandalum, ut nullius hæresis tempore sancta ecclesia graviori sit schismate discissa. — MATT. PARIS: *Chron. Majora*, ii. 12; an. 1074.

after all his defiances, was reduced to the memorable submission at Canossa, the story of which has never ceased to stir men's hearts with quite opposite emotions. No picture continues more distinct on the annals of the past. Climbing and crossing the icy Alps in the midst of winter,—the severest winter of the eleventh century, when nearly all the vines were killed, and when the Rhine was frozen till the middle of April,—attended only by the queen, their son, and the smallest unarmed escort, the king presented himself at the castle of Canossa, an impregnable fortress built on a rocky hill, encircled by a triple wall, in which Gregory at the time was staying. The place is now in ruins, and few travellers pause to view the remaining fragments of mounds and walls on their way from Reggio to Modena. But here was then a famous fortress, apparently of irreducible strength. For three days the humbled king waited in the space between the first and second walls, standing barefooted on the snow, and fasting until evening. On the fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the pontiff, with his feet still bare, in a penitential robe. Casting himself on the ground before Gregory, he entreated his pardon. The severe conditions of the forgiveness, with the consequent loosing of the anathema, had already been accepted by Henry, and the absolution followed. Chanting the psalms "Miserere mei, Domine" and "Deus misereatur," the pontiff struck the king on the shoulder with a slight switch at the end of each verse, and then, after prayer, resuming his mitre, declared him absolved and fully restored to the communion of the Church. He then proceeded to celebrate the Eucharist, inviting the king to partake with him; and then it must have been that he accepted for himself, and proposed to Henry, the

tremendous test, as it appeared to them both, of taking simultaneously the consecrated wafer, on condition that it should clear the recipient of the crimes imputed to him if he were innocent, or that the Lord, whose body was in it, should strike him there with sudden death if he were guilty.

Henry had broken treaties, would break them again, as if they had been spider-webs on his path; and it is not probable that he would have demurred to any number of formal oaths attesting his innocence. But he shrank appalled before that awful adjuration, and evaded the test. He thus went out from the presence of the pontiff apparently absolved, but as Gregory is reported to have said, "in fact more accusable than he had been;"[1] and from that time the sword never departed from his house. He fought, intrigued, again called a council, at Brixen in the Tyrol, for deposing the Pope and electing another. Such an one was elected,— Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna,— and Henry conducted him with an army to Rome, which they together entered in triumph, after long delays, at Christmas, A.D. 1083. On the Palm Sunday following, Guibert

[1] Certe obediens erat rex Henrichus apostolicæ auctoritati, quando promiserat ad omnia quæ justa essent consensum præbere Romano pontifici, . . . donec in gratiam cum papa rediit et ad comprobandum ecclesiasticæ reconciliationis testimonium sacram communionem corporis et sanguinis Domini de manu eius accepit, mensam cum ipso papa adiit ac deinde dimissus est in pace, qualem scilicet pacem Judas simulavit, non qualem Christus reliquit. Nam tunc aderat et legatio Saxonum, hostium scilicet regis et Gregorianæ partis fautorum, et rescripsit eis quærentibus interrumpere omnibus modis initum reconciliationis pactum : *Ne solliciti*, inquit, *sitis, quoniam culpabiliorem eum reddo vobis.* — WALTRAMUS : *De Unitate Ecclesiæ* [*circa* 1090], lib. ii. 15.

Waltram makes no mention of the test proposed by Gregory and avoided by Henry, but the words of the pontiff cited by him have in that their natural occasion and explanation.

was installed as Pope in St. Peter's, taking the title of Clement Third, and at Easter he gave to Henry the imperial crown. Subsequently, Rome was captured, ravaged and burned, by the southern Normans, with a multitude of Saracen allies, who had come to the relief of Gregory, and he was conducted to the Lateran palace. When they in turn left the ruined city, he followed them to Salerno, where, as I have said, in A.D. 1085, he died. But his system survived him; and Henry never recovered from the disasters which under the imperious and inplacable pontiff had fallen upon him. His sons successively rebelled against him; his wife, the empress, accused him before a council of what appear wholly incredible crimes; at times he was on the edge of suicide; and at last his unhappy and turbulent life was closed at Liège, A.D. 1106, after a reign of fifty years, and his diadem and sword were sent to the son who was at the time approaching him for battle.

Subsequently to his day no pontiff ever sought the imperial sanction of his election. It is a significant illustration of the vast momentum which Gregory had given to the system identified with his name, that even in the synod convened by Clement Third at Rome, while Gregory was practically a prisoner in St. Angelo,—a synod composed of those friendly to the Emperor and hostile to Gregory,—the principles and maxims which the latter had announced were essentially accepted. The excommunication of the Emperor was declared irregular, because he had not been heard in reply to the charges against him. But the right of the pontiff to excommunicate kings was left unchallenged. His maxims against simony, and the marriage of priests, were also repeated by Clement, though he carefully affirmed the validity of the sacraments as independent of

the character of the priest. Morally, if not physically, Hildebrand had conquered. His austere character, his daring spirit, the temper of the times, the inveterate tendencies which led all peoples to look to Rome for light and law, the craving for some securely established unity on the Continent, had given to his plans a power and predominance which continued for centuries, though he himself, with a tragic justice, must die in exile without the sight. After him, the only unity ever looked for in Europe was a unity under the papacy. Of an all-embracing secular empire no man anywhere longer dreamed.[1]

Following his death, after the brief pontificate of Victor Third, one of his friends, another of those friends, Otho, Bishop of Ostia, who had been trained at the same monastery of Clugni, who had been one of his legates and confidants, and who had been named by him as fit for the succession, was made pontiff, with the title of Urban Second; and he it was who, while insisting as strenuously as had Gregory himself on what to both appeared the necessary reform and supremacy of the Church, was able to carry out the immense conception of a European crusade to conquer for Christendom the holy places of the Gospels. This had been, as I have said, a favorite and an animating design with

[1] Nous sommes accoutumés à nous représenter Grégoire VII. comme un homme qui a voulu rendre toutes choses immobiles, comme un adversaire du développement intellectuel, du progrès social, comme un homme qui prétendait retenir le monde dans un système stationnaire ou rétrograde. Rien n'est moins vrai, Messieurs ; Grégoire VII. était un réformateur par la voie du despotisme, comme Charlemagne et Pierre-le-Grand. Il a voulu réformer l'Église, et par l'Église la société civile ; y introduire plus de moralité, plus de justice, plus de règle ; il a voulu le faire par le Saint-Siége et à son profit. — GUIZOT : *Hist. de la Civil. en Europe*, pp. 178, 179. Paris ed., 1846.

Gregory, who had publicly announced it in a circular letter to the faithful as early as A.D. 1074, and who had especially asked the support for it of Henry of Germany. The plan in his time could not be realized. The success of Urban in carrying it out is of itself a demonstration of the immense impulse which had come to the Church, with the almost incalculable advance achieved in the general European spirit of energy and courage. From Europe under the foul domination of Benedict Ninth to Europe under the pupil of Hildebrand, the change is almost as great as from one planet to another; and the finally successful effort to combine severed and hostile States for the vast and costly common enterprise in the East shows how the invigorated Church was renewing the public unity which after Charlemagne had seemed hopelessly lost.

The outline of the remarkable story may be rapidly recalled. Ten years after the death of Gregory, A.D. 1095, a vast assembly of thousands of the clergy and ten thousands of the laity was gathered at Piacenza — the Italian city lying midway between Milan and Parma — to meet the new pontiff. No roof being vast enough to cover the assembly, its meetings were held in open fields outside the city. The envoys of the Eastern Emperor were present, to ask the aid of Western Christendom against Saracen and Turk. The hearts of the excitable multitudes were deeply stirred by pathetic appeals, and the hour for the movement appeared to have come. But Urban, with adroit sagacity, deferred its full inauguration to a time and a place yet more opportune. In the autumn of the same year he met a still larger assembly, at Clermont in Auvergne. Peter the Hermit had previously traversed the kingdom, with his terrible narrative of the murder and

outrage inflicted on pilgrims when seeking the holy sepulchre of the Lord, and with fierce exhortations founded upon the bloody story. Urban had given him, a year before, pontifical sanction for his mission. The impetuous French people, always responsive to high and remote imaginative conceptions, had been tumultuously aroused by his words, and were ready to be swept into a general delirium of passion. The country was volcanic,[1] the council full of irrepressible fire; and when Urban, himself a Frenchman, ascended the lofty temporary scaffold and began his address, it seemed to those who heard him as if the inspiration of God were as plainly present as it had been at Pentecost. Three reports of his speech have remained, but all agree in the substance of his appeal. It was for the rescue from defiling infidel possession of the royal city which the Divine Redeemer had made illustrious by His residence, had hallowed by His passion, had purchased by His cross, had gloriously crowned by His resurrection. When he closed — this ruler of kings, this official head of the recombined Christendom, this earthly vice-gerent of God — with the thought that they were not really called to surrender home-ties in this far expedition, since to the Christian all the earth is a place of exile while in another and better sense all the earth is his home, and with the august pontifical promise that leaving patrimonies here they should attain better in the kingdom of heaven, and that dying in this service they should

[1] Michelet has described it well: Vaste incendie éteint, aujourd'hui paré presque partout d'une forte et rude végétation. Le noyer pivote sur le basalte, et le blé germe sur la pierre ponce. Les feux intérieurs ne sont pas tellement assoupis que certaine vallée ne fume encore, et que les *étouffis* du Mont-Dor ne rappellent la Solfatare et la Grotte du Chien. Villes noires, bâties de lave, Clermont, Saint-Flour, etc. — *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. pp. 35, 36. Paris ed., 1835.

live forever, with their sins washed away, in the mansions of the Blessed,— the universal, passionate cry, "God wills it! God wills it!" broke from the assembly as of old the flame and molten lava had burst from the cloven hills around them. Red cloths and stuffs were not abundant enough to furnish crosses. All over France, all over Europe, swept the swift, impassionating contagion; and the power of the Pontiff, of the Church represented by him before Europe, rose as in a moment to such a pitch of eminence and of splendor as Gregory Seventh in his wildest dreams could scarcely have imagined. It was in large part the outcome of his work, though he had seemed to struggle vainly for the effect, to die at last in painful discomfiture. His intrepid spirit and indomitable zeal for the mastery of the Church over disunited States presided still in the councils of Christendom.

The effect of the crusade thus initiated was to stimulate, to a degree before unexampled, the general mind of Western Europe; to unite the peoples in sympathetic alliance for a magnificent enterprise, on behalf of a remote and ideal end; to bring forth whatever chivalric quality was common to different classes in the State, and to loosen in a measure the constraining bonds of that severing feudalism which had not only manacled but practically destroyed general society. It made the peasant as well as the prince the soldier of the cross. It compelled a wide and beneficent distribution of estates. It gave increase of wealth to merchants and artisans, who provided the vast equipment for the hosts. It expanded and lifted the popular thought, before wholly occupied with local affairs and with neighboring strifes. It brought Europe and Asia face to face, as till then they had not been since the

early Empire was divided. It tended in many ways to make the last decade of the eleventh century a widely different period from either of the three gloomy decades with which it had begun. A wholly new freedom and energy of movement became evident in it, prophetic of things still better to come.

After Urban Second had passed away, closing eleven years of pontifical service, another friend and pupil of Hildebrand, also for a time a monk at Clugni, was placed upon the papal throne, under the title of Paschal Second; and he it was who saw Henry Fourth compelled at last, by the treachery of his son, to seek final release from the ban of the Church, and to surrender his empire. But the same pontiff saw also the son and successor of the dethroned monarch master of Rome, after a destroying march through Italy, master of his own person, of the Vatican and St. Peter's; he saw himself compelled to crown the conquering monarch, and to make with him a solemn treaty in which much was yielded for which Gregory had tenaciously fought. Germany, in other words, had not been crushed by all the calamities which she had suffered. Hildebrand had builded better than he knew. The recoil of his blows had been equal to the stroke. The people had been aroused by the fierce democracy of his appeal, while the Church had been partially purified; and though for a time it seemed as if the papacy would become too strong for civilization, in the final effect it had to accept the imperative demands of secular advance and social order.[1]

[1] To many thoughtful and dispassionate minds even the gigantic power wielded by the popes during the middle ages will appear justifiable in itself (though they will repudiate the false pretensions on which it was founded, and the false opinions which were associated with it), since only by such

Other movements, doctrinal, spiritual, rather than strictly ecclesiastical, belong also to the close of this century; and other great names give it lustre in history. The impulse which wrought in it had become inherent, was no longer imported and dependent. It was general, therefore, not local; and it found expression in many strong characters.

Peter Damiani, whom I have already mentioned, belongs in his public life chiefly to the third quarter of the century, having died in A.D. 1072; but his influence continued after his death, and indeed was long a presence in the Church. Of somewhat narrow mind, no doubt, and of a harsh and vehement temper, but faithful to his convictions, fearless of opposition, while ascetic in his habits, and intensely zealous for the purity of the Church, he rose from low conditions in life — according to some a deserted child, compelled to turn swineherd — to the high rank of bishop and cardinal, the offices being thrust upon him without his wish, and almost against his final consent. His aims were well-nigh fanatically practical; yet he made himself familiar, as abundantly appears, with the Latin classics. He loved solitude better than society, yet he took without shrinking a prominent and a dangerous part in public affairs when summoned by the Pope. The eulogist of hermits, the inventor of a new and severe form of penance, the intrepid critic and censor of pontiffs when they seemed to him to need it, laying down at last his cardinal's hat to become abbot of a monastery, he left behind him a lesson of character and of self-subduing

a providential concentration of authority could the Church, humanly speaking, have braved the storms of those ages of anarchy and violence. — Bp. LIGHTFOOT: *Appendix to Comm. on Philippians*, p. 244. London ed., 1879.

example more important and fruitful than any lesson of his treatises or his sermons, his letters, or his lives of the saints. A translated stanza of the celebrated hymn, "De gloria et gaudiis Paradisi," which was probably composed by him on a suggestion from the writings of Augustine, gives perhaps as clearly as anything the key to his career: —

> "Grant me vigor, while I labor
> In the ceaseless battle pressed,
> That Thou mayest, the conflict over,
> Grant me everlasting rest;
> That I may at length inherit
> Thee, my Portion, ever blest."[1]

The vehemence of the warrior, the narrowness of the monk, were blended in him with the ardent faith and hope of the Christian.

Lanfranc, whose name will be memorable in history while the English annals continue to be read, was of the same century, born A.D. 1005, and dying in England A.D. 1089. Born in Pavia, of a family which gave him opportunities for distinction, having been educated for the bar, having followed for some time the profession of an advocate, and having himself subsequently founded an important seminary at Avranches in Normandy, he at length sought admission to the monastery at Bec, — "the Bec," more properly, the name coming from a rivulet flowing near, — and there adopted fully the monastic life. Ascetic in spirit, but courtly in manner, of wide and cultivated practical sagacity, with the highest repute for logic and learning, he became prior of the monastery, and then of the larger one at Caen. At

[1] The entire hymn, of sixty-one lines, is found in Daniel's "Thesaurus Hymnologicus," tom. i. pp. 116, 117. Leipsic ed., 1855. It is there attributed, however, to Augustine.

length he was called by William the Conqueror, who knew and honored his remarkable capacity and character, to be archbishop of Canterbury; and at the command of Alexander Second, he accepted the office. To him both the Church and the State of England were largely indebted for the influence which he successfully exerted on William and his successor. The genius of the statesman was combined in him with a devout piety. The comments upon the epistles of Saint Paul attributed to him show attentive Biblical studies. His contest with Berengarius, on the real presence of the Lord in the Eucharist, exhibits the eager and skilled theologian. But his personal spirit was the instrument of his noblest achievements. The character which all recognized in him, with the restraint and dignity of his life, rebuked the dissoluteness, encouraged the aspiration for purity, of both of which the age was full.

A greater thinker, a more profound theologian, succeeded him in the See of Canterbury,— the illustrious Anselm, the memory of whom those widely severed from the communion of which he was the glory still hold in their hearts. Also of Italian parentage, born in Aosta, under the shadow of the Alps, A.D. 1033, he also died at Canterbury, seventy-six years after, A.D. 1109. After a beautiful childhood, in which he thought heaven to be upon the top of the mountains to whose shining splendor he looked up, and to whose summits he went in his dreams to see the Lord,[1] by the death of

[1] Ingrediens itaque puer, a Domino vocatur. Accedit, atque ad pedes ejus sedet. Interrogatur jucunda affabilitate quis sit, vel unde, quidve velit. Respondet ille ad interrogata, juxta quod rem esse sciebat. Tunc ad imperium Domini panis ei nitidissimus per dapiferum affertur, eoque coram ipso reficitur. Mane igitur cum quid viderit ante oculos mentis

his mother "the anchor of his heart was lost, and it was thrown almost a wreck on the waves of the world." [1] Keenly alive, however, to the attractions of study and of thought, and with the impulse to a nobler spiritual life striving against whatever had been irregular in his habit, he also came to the monastery of Bec, became its prior, and afterward its abbot; and finally, after the death of Lanfranc, followed him, with great personal reluctance, to the ecclesiastical throne of England. The sixteen years of his archiepiscopal life were years of struggle, vicissitude, and at times of apparent defeat. An important part of them was passed in exile. But he served England as nobly as any native hero could have done, through his intrepid and masterful spirit, which the furious will of William Rufus could not bend, while his large and rich intellectual work has made the Church of Christ from that day to this his constant debtor.

He has justly been called "the Augustine of the Middle Age." Not surpassing others of his time, perhaps, in mere dialectical acuteness and force, he had an aptitude which no other showed for intent, continuous, and profound meditation on the sublimest and most difficult themes. His renowned ontological argument for the existence of God — not wholly original with himself, but completing and surpassing other forms of the argument — still commands the admiration even of those who do not wholly accept it, while to not a few of the greater philosophical minds of modern time it has

Domini refectum fuisse credebat, hocque coram aliis ita esse publice asserebat. — EADMER: *Vita S. Anselmi*, lib. i.

No doubt Eadmer heard the story from Anselm himself.

[1] Defuncta vero illa, illico navis cordis ejus, quasi anchora perdita, in fluctus seculi pene tota dilapsa est. — *Ibid.*

seemed sufficient. On the concord between Divine foreknowledge and human freedom he largely meditated, and to the work of showing the essential harmony between them he gave enthusiastic endeavor; while his famous treatise, "Cur Deus Homo," which aims to set forth the moral ground of the incarnation, and to present a sufficient exposition of the atonement, makes him pre-eminent among the Christian thinkers of his time. It is not too much to say that it revolutionized the thought of Europe on that majestic and vital theme. To the end, his mind was engaged in like manner. As Palm Sunday dawned, while his brethren were sitting around him, when one of them said, "Lord Father, we apprehend that you are about to leave the world for your Lord's Easter court," his reply was, "If this be His will, I shall gladly obey it; but if He chooses rather that I shall remain among you a little longer, until I am able to solve a question on which I am reflecting, on the origin of the soul, I shall thankfully receive it, since I know not whether any one will finish the work when I am gone."[1] A profound thinker, an illustrious teacher, a mighty kindler of thought in others, austere in life, uncompromising in discipline, yet wonderfully sweet and affectionate in sympathy, affable, gracious, of a supreme piety, — ready to take hell, with unblemished purity, rather than to be thrust into heaven while stained with sin,[2] — it is no wonder that men

[1] Repondit: Equidem si voluntas ejus in hoc est, voluntati ejus libens parebo. Verum si mallet me adhuc inter vos saltem tam diu manere, donec quæstionem, quam de animæ origine mente revolvo, absolvere possem, gratiosus acciperem, eo quod nescio utrum aliquis eam me defuncto sit abso-

loved him as few have deserved to be loved; that miracles were attributed to him in life, and that beautiful portents were believed to attend his burial. It was not till the close of the fifteenth century that he was formally canonized. It was not till the last century that his name was enrolled on the pontifical list of Church authorities. But centuries before, Dante had seen him, you remember, in his vision of Paradise, among the spirits of light and power in the sphere of the sun. With prophets, theologians, jurists, he saw him; with Thomas Aquinas and Hugo of St. Victor, with Bonaventura the "seraphic doctor," with Nathan the Seer, with the sainted Chrysostom. Certainly the age was neither intellectually nor morally sterile, nor wanting in strong spiritual impulse, which could present such a product as the genius and spirit of Anselm.

Nor merely by the appearance of illustrious men is that new impulse which wrought in Europe in the latter part of the eleventh century made apparent. Discussions arose, and were eagerly prosecuted, which before would have seemed impossible. Institutions were founded, or were vastly enlarged, from which subsequent times took instruction and courage. The doctrine of the Real Presence of the Lord in the wafer came to the front, and keenly stirred the minds of many. Berengarius of Tours, following in the line of John Erigena, maintained that the body of the Lord was there spiritually only, not corporeally, to be received by the heart not by the mouth, the bread and the wine continuing in their substance unchanged. His opinion was not approved, but condemned. Lanfranc wrote forcibly against it. At a synod at Rome, A.D. 1050, and at subsequent synods and coun-

deberet; prius infernum, quam peccatum, appeteret. — EADMER: *Vita S. Anselmi*, ii. 16.

cils on to A.D. 1079, the opinion attributed to him was contradicted and anathematized, and he was more than once in peril of his life. But the fact that the question was mooted at all, with the further facts that argument was employed against him, that many others agreed with his thought, and that no great final severity was exercised toward him though he had spoken contemptuously both of pontiffs and of the Roman Church,—these show a positive moral advance from the dreary torpor of the previous century.[1] The appearance and propagation of even extreme heretical opinions, at the theological school at Orléans and elsewhere, show the same prophetic ferment in the mind of the West. It can hardly be reckoned without significance that in this century first came to European hands, in cotton paper, a new instrument for recording and communicating thought, in place of the scarce and costly parchment. Its use was at first exceptional and infrequent; but more and more it was sure to give extended facilities for chronicles, correspondence, and the careful exhibition of whatever men believed.

Convents were multiplied and enriched in the century, in consequence, partly, of the large gifts bestowed upon them by those who in its earlier years had expected the near end of the world. The Grande Chartreuse, near Grenoble, was thus founded by Bruno of Cologne, A.D. 1084; the Abbey of Citeaux, by Robert of Molesme, under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy in A. D. 1098. The magnificent Abbey of St. Benignus, at Dijon, had been founded earlier, and was already extensive and powerful, while Clugni was a

[1] It is to be remembered that not until A.D. 1215, under Innocent Third, did the doctrine of Transubstantiation become a formulated dogma of the Church.

renowned seminary for bishops and pontiffs. The Abbey of St. Evroult, made famous by Ordericus Vitalis, began in the middle of the century; and even the ancient monastery of Monte Cassino only finished its magnificent church in A.D. 1070.

Meantime, all over the Continent, other churches were arising, more vast and stately than before had been known, in consequence of the recent riches contributed for them. The fears of the vicious had conspired with the devotion of the pious. The prophecy ascribed to Merlin had been accomplished, and gold had been extracted from both the nettle and the lily. As Raoul Glaber said, after the threatened day of doom, all Christian peoples seemed to contend with each other which should raise the most superb churches. "It was as if the whole world had thown off the rags of its ancient time, and had come to apparel itself in the white robe of the churches."[1] St. Mark's, at Venice, was not finished till the end of the century, to be by us freshly admired after eight hundred years. The cathedral of Pisa, wonderful alike for its grand proportions and the charming completeness of its melodious details, begun in A.D. 1015, was also finished with the century. The cathedrals of Siena, Modena, Parma, and other Italian cities, belong to the same age; while in northern Europe the new and urgent spiritual forces were equally breaking into sudden exhibition in immense and lovely structures. The church at Freyburg in Baden, in which Bernard afterward preached the cru-

[1] Igitur infra supradictum millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in universo pene terrarum Orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari Ecclesiarum Basilicas. . . . Æmulabatur tamen quæque gens Christicolarum adversus alteram decentiore frui ; erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, rejecta vetustate, passim candidam Ecclesiarum vestem indueret. — *Hist. sui temp.*, lib. iii. cap. iv.

sade, belonged to this period. Strasburg, Mayence, Trèves, Worms, Basel, Brussels, Dijon, bloomed into the beauty of their superb churches. The cathedral of Chartres, always since renowned in Europe, with its pointed arches, flying buttresses, and the marvellous glass which even the fires of Revolution have spared, was begun about A. D. 1060, though principally finished a century later. The wonderful Abbey Church at Clugni, 580 feet in length, 120 in width, continuing almost to our time, was commenced in A.D. 1089, while the full reach of its massive magnificence was only subsequently attained. The cathedrals at Autun and Poictiers, the Abbey Church at Vézelai, with St. Stephen's at Caen, and many others, are of the same time. All northern Europe was flowering into Christian architecture, delicate and mighty, as Alpine slopes with sudden exuberance clothe themselves in wealth of blooms when the icy fetters have been removed.

Education revived, and the old plans of Charlemagne were once more put into wide operation, as schools were established in important cathedral towns for the instruction of youth, with the training of men for the offices of the priesthood. Libraries of manuscripts began to be gathered more numerously and largely; and from the collections started at this time the modern world derives not a few of its most prized vellums. One, at least, of the sweetest of the mediæval hymns is attributed to this period,—the "Veni Sancte Spiritus." The Breviary took its completed form after the middle of the century, from which the Anglican Prayer-book has derived much of its dignity and charm.[1] A

[1] The history of the Breviary, not only from the time that it came as a book, so-called, into use, about A. D. 1050, but from the very commencement of the gradual process of its formation, is a great desideratum, per-

new fervor in preaching, expressing new fervor of thought and zeal, prepared the way for that preaching in the vernacular among different peoples which afterward became a general practice. The study of jurisprudence received at the same time a memorable impulse. It was not until A.D. 1135 that the city of Amalfi was captured by the Pisans, after which the famous copy of the Pandects of Justinian now in the Laurentian Library at Florence, and formerly shown there as an almost sacred book, was transferred to Pisa. But the picturesque story which made that the source of all other copies of the Pandects, and of the culture which came to Europe from the revived study of Roman Law, was long since disproved by Muratori and Savigny. Irnerius, with whom learned investigation of the laws of Justinian appears to have commenced, was already lecturing in Bologna at an early date in the eleventh century. Other teachers were associated with him. Many students were gathered around them. Glosses were made, or marginal interpretations of obscure words and sentences in the text; and not only the relations of men in society became in a measure defined and liberalized, but the general teaching mind of the Continent took enlargement and increase of light from this ampler study of that ancient jurisprudence which had expressed the public ethical reason of the Empire.

Poetic feeling began at the same time to press toward harmonious expression, among peoples before unfamil-

haps *the* great desideratum in ritualistic works : the treatise of Grancolas supplying but a very small part of what is wanted. . . . While the beauty of our Prayer-book is but the faint shadow of the beauty of the Breviary, it would be much easier to correct the former by amplification than the latter by diminution. — DR. J. M. NEALE : *Essays on Liturgiology*, pp. 2, 4. London ed., 1867.

iar with it and dwelling widely apart. The Troubadour period in France was already begun. That which followed in Germany was still in the future, since the Hohenstauffen princes, under whom it chiefly appeared, only came to the throne in the following century. But already the earliest Minnesingers were chanting their lays of faith and love and knightly valor, — of nature in her delightful aspects, of womanhood in its sweet majesty, and of the comic and tragic in human life. In Provence, still earlier, such singers had appeared. William of Guienne, whose lyric art was famous in his time, was born in A.D. 1070; and Courts of Love, at which bards recited in lyric competition, were held in Provence and in Catalonia before the end of the century. The *Chanson de Roland*, reported to have been sung by Taillefer before William of Normandy and his army, was evidently familiarly known before that time. One cannot yet trace the origin in Germany of the Nibelungenlied, or of the Gudrun, and the subsequent parts of the Helden-Buch; but certainly the legends which found in them their composite expression had long before become current among the people, as had been that of the Reineke Fuchs.[1] It is indeed nowise impossible

[1] This Middle High-German Epic (the Nibelungenlied) is like an old church, in the building of which many architects have successively taken part, some of whom have scrupulously adhered to the original designs of their predecessors, while others have arbitrarily followed their own devices; little minds have added paintings, scrolls, and side-wings, and Time has thrown over the whole the grey veil of age, so that the general impression is a noble one. . . . The whole may have been finished in about twenty years, from 1190 to 1210. . . . Even those who believe in the single authorship of the poem must acknowledge that the poet derived the substance of his work from older lays, . . . and that the internal disparities are explained by the various songs made use of by the author. . . . The author of the Nibelungenlied cannot be known. — W. SCHERER: *Hist. Germ. Lit.*, vol. i. pp. 102–103. Oxford ed., 1886.

that parts of the famous "Hero Book" may have been connected as has sometimes been surmised, through a survival of the fittest, with Charlemagne's collection of popular heroic songs. The most ancient Icelandic Edda goes back probably to the same century. It will not be denied, therefore, that true poetry was there, though that in whose equally exquisite substance and form the following times have found delight does not yet appear. The bold and brilliant image of Carlyle finds constant illustration in literary history: "Action strikes fiery light from the rock it has to hew through; poetry reposes in the skyey splendor which that rough passage has led to." [1]

In a word it may be said, certainly, with no hesitation, that the eleventh century, after the first third of it had passed, constituted a period not of passive transition, but of active and powerful transformation, through which the peoples of Europe passed from the foul darkness of the tenth Christian age into the comparatively clearer light and more healthful air of those which followed. The reaction in the Church toward purity in

The story [of Gudrun] attained its fullest development in the Netherlands, probably in the eleventh century. . . . The story was known in Bavaria before the year 1100, and was treated in a celebrated poem not preserved to us, but referred to by the clerical poets of the twelfth century. About the year 1210 a poet of remarkable talent made it his theme. His work, like the songs of the Nibelungen epic, was afterwards much added to by other poets, and we have it in this enlarged form in a late manuscript. — *Ibid.*, p. 125.

The court of the Hohenstaufen was the centre of life for the whole southwest of Germany. . . . The minstrels were probably well received there throughout the twelfth century; the only one whom we know by name, a certain Heinrich der Glichezare, made translations from the French, at the commission of an Alsatian nobleman, and in this way produced the oldest German poem on Reineke Fuchs. — *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[1] Miscellanies, iv. 394. Boston ed.

officials, and toward its enfranchisement from secular powers, or even an asserted supremacy over them which was to be conditioned upon such purity, contributed, as I think, to this effect. It was the most signal failure in history, so far as it aimed at complete papal domination over States. But for the time it gave a new and needed sense of unity to Europe, in which was the condition of further progress. Under theocratic forms it revived and surpassed the earlier Empire. It made peoples more free, in the consciousness of constant possible access to a superior spiritual tribunal, while it made kings less sharply tyrannic. When the first most impassioned crusade had come to its triumphant success in the capture of Jerusalem, on Friday, the fifteenth of July, in the last year of the century,—at the same hour of the day, it was reverently remembered, at which the Lord had been crucified,—the fruit of it was not principally in the aggrandizement of priesthood or of pontiff, but in the new relations which peoples professing the Christian faith came thenceforth to sustain to each other; in widened thought, as distant regions were brought nearer; in an educated capacity for combined effort in immense and costly enterprise. Then followed, in natural sequence, the more generous and elaborate cultivation of knighthood, the freshly religious and consecrated tone taken by chivalry, the distinct loosening of feudal bonds, the wide and useful exchange of estates. It was not lost, that blood poured out on the sands of the East. Europe gained from it what it had not expected, but what was worth more to it than would have been the possession for all time of all holy places.

Ladies, and Gentlemen: I have tried thus, however imperfectly, to outline before you the period which pre-

ceded the lifetime of Bernard, that we may have before us as plainly as possible the condition to which the Europe of his experience had at length been brought through the slow travail of suffering centuries. It is in that Europe of the twelfth century — after Hildebrand, after Urban, when the first crusade had stirred with vast whirl European society — that we are to place him and his work. I can only hope that by this prolonged though rapid résumé I may have helped to a clearer apprehension of the particular environment of his life. Heavy and noisome shadows from the past brooded over it still, as I need not remind you. Elements of fierce evilness contended in it with incipient forces of good. Its annals clash with shock of arms; they ring with outcries of defiance or despair; they reverberate with the quarrels of high officers in the Church; they record intrigues, stratagems, combats, and they echo anathemas. The crudest thought, the most childish superstition, confront us often in places of authority, wielding at will destroying weapons. Poverty was unbounded, and the privilege of power was commonly reckoned the opportunity to oppress. It was, beyond doubt, a hard century to live in. Except for the deep instinct of life which calamities had not crushed, and which even the ruder forms of Christianity always cherish and renew, it may well seem to us that the burdens of life would have been to many intolerably severe, that suicide as a refuge would have come to be familiar.

But after all, as we step forth into it from the terrible period which had followed the end of Charlemagne's empire, we are greeted with many encouraging signs of recent advance and of probable progress. The seemingly mad and hopeless chaos of the tenth century, and

of part of the eleventh, is at any rate behind us. The Empire, though again re-erected in name, has lost its former ecumenical character; it no longer extends across the Continent, and the vast area formerly embraced in it is being broken up into separate kingdoms, politically divided, though morally allied. Larger freedom of development has thus come to each, while the higher influences, subordinated before to imperial will, have henceforth a broadened range. A common ecclesiastical life pervades the kingdoms. Territorial imperialism has practically given place to a more commanding empire over souls. Military establishments are not as conspicuous and controlling as they were, and moral forces have new opportunity. The popes have come to be decent persons, and in many directions the exercise of their power is not unhelpful to general welfare. There is, on the whole, an increasing sensibility in the popular mind to what is high and rare in character, an increasing spirit of confident hope for better times, an increasing readiness to follow the lead of those in any station in whom benevolence, piety, learning, and courage are plainly united, while they are masters as well of the mystery and power of eloquent speech. The need of such men was never greater than at that time in Europe. The opportunity before them was certainly more ample than it had been in perhaps any century before; and we cannot be mistaken in feeling that a true genius for moral command then appearing, and working in sympathy with the new age, must find openings, and be conscious of incentives, hardly surpassed even in later and pleasanter centuries.

Wide general tendencies are coming before us to partial exhibition, in which one sees prophetic indications. The huddled huts around feudal castles are be-

ginning, at least, to grow toward villages, which are to ripen into communes, and to furnish the nests of future liberties. Halls like that of William Rufus, rising at Westminster, though designed at first only for princely entertainments, are destined to become the memorable scenes of much that is grandest in the history of states. The life of the Cid, which closed with the eleventh century,[1] and which gave inspiration to the oldest Spanish poem, which distinguished critics have also, you know, pronounced the finest,[2] shows, through whatever subsequent embellishment, the signally romantic and chivalrous temper toward which men's eyes were fondly turned. A new expectation was beginning to be manifest in the spirit of society, as well as in the Church; and with it came, not suddenly but in gradual development, new wideness of purpose, a fresh courage, more reliance on moral forces, a more animating hope. There was certainly a turn, distinctly apparent, toward better times; and it may not seem without significance that it was at the close of the eleventh century in its last decade that the pontiff, Urban Second, ordered the bells

[1] At Valencia, A. D. 1099.

[2] It is, indeed, a work which, as we read it, stirs us with the spirit of the times it describes; and as we lay it down and recollect the intellectual condition of Europe when it was written, and for a long period before, it seems certain that, during the thousand years which elapsed from the time of the decay of Greek and Roman culture down to the appearance of the "Divina Commedia," no poetry was produced so original in its tone, or so full of natural feeling, picturesqueness, and energy. — TICKNOR: *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, vol. i. pp. 22, 23.

Sanchez is of opinion that it [the poem] was composed about the middle of the twelfth century, some fifty years after the death of the Cid; there are some passages which induce me to believe it the work of a contemporary. Be that as it may, it is unquestionably the oldest poem in the Spanish language. In my judgment it is as decidedly and beyond all comparison the finest. — SOUTHEY: *Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 9. London ed., 1808.

to be rung in the churches before sunrise and sunset, to call the people to give thanks and to pray. So the "Angelus" and the "Ave Maria," the chimes so called from the first words of the orisons appointed, came to be widely heard in Europe. They rang out the old time, and they rang in the new. It is beneath their prophesying music that we come at last to the more limited personal theme henceforth to engage us; for it was at almost exactly the same time, A.D. 1091, that the life of Bernard began in Burgundy.

LECTURE III.

BERNARD, IN HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

LECTURE III.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

I VENTURE to hope that in the preceding lectures some things have become apparent which are important to a fair estimate of Bernard and his work; these three, at least: that a distinct change toward better things had got itself established before the close of the eleventh century, giving reasonable hope of a subsequent slow but progressive improvement in the moral life of Europe and its social conditions; that this change had taken its rise, and continued to have the centre of its support, not in any plan of nobles or kings, or of the peoples who were passive before them, but in men of the Church, who had at heart the interests of Christ's kingdom as they understood that, and who were joyfully ready to strive and suffer on its behalf; and therefore that a man of consecrated spirit, coming to his place in the following century, if endowed with genius for command, intense convictions, an energetic and inspiring will, would have opportunities for a wider work than had been possible before. Ambitions were still fierce, passions savage, oppressions enormous, wrongs innumerable; but reaction had come from long periods of terrific decadence. Tendencies toward a brighter future were now positively inaugurated in Western

Christendom. There was more of just hopefulness for the victory of good forces. A general and influential European opinion was coming to be possible, if not already beginning to be manifest. And one who should stand apart from his contemporaries in unique spiritual quality and power, whether with or without any distinguished titular rank, might thereafter impel and guide with new efficiency both those in high station and the common populations.

If these things are as evident to you as to me, the purpose of the previous lectures has been accomplished, and we are ready to set the slender and shining figure of Bernard amid the times to which he gave elevation and lustre. The impulses which moved him, the ends which he sought, even the methods by which he pursued his unselfish aims, will become more clear to our apprehension; and some of the facts in his extraordinary life, which otherwise we might be tempted perhaps to remit to the realm of legend or romance, will stand before us in definite outline, in the unprismatic light of history.

He was born, as I have said, in Burgundy, at his father's castle of Fontaines, two miles or so from the city of Dijon, in the year A.D. 1091. He was named, probably, for his mother's father, Bernard, the feudal lord of Mont Bar, a few miles distant.

The province of Burgundy was at that time, as since, as Michelet has said, "a goodly land, where cities put vine branches into their coats-of-arms, where everybody calls everybody else brother or cousin, — a country of good livers and of joyous Christmases."[1] Its verdurous slopes and sunny plateaux have been the birthplace of men and women whose eloquence in speech

[1] Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 92. Paris ed., 1835.

or whose singular grace and charm in writing have adorned the literature, and in a measure have shaped the spirit, of the French people. Bossuet was born there,— the skilful disputant, the voluminous author, the counsellor of kings, and perhaps the most eloquent preacher in France after Bernard. Buffon was born there, whose wide research and poetic intuition of natural law made an era in the annals of physical science, and whose name is familiar wherever the science is pursued. Madame de Sévigné was probably born there, at the Château de Bourbilly, whose spirited letters — playful, piquant, affectionate, thoughtful — have been a delight to successive generations. Crébillon the elder, whose success as a tragic poet exasperated Voltaire, was born at Dijon. So was Piron, whose witty epigrams were famous in their time. Diderot was born a few leagues away; while, in more recent times, Lamartine was a Burgundian, who so surprisingly combined the poet and historian with the practical statesman and the popular leader, as was a little later Edgar Quinet, the enthusiastic interpreter of the German mind to the French, the brilliant essayist and lecturer upon modern civilization. The skies of Burgundy have thus for centuries ripened wits as well as wines; and the order of the Golden Fleece, instituted there three centuries after Bernard, for the glory of knighthood and of the Church, only fairly represented, in name at least, the wealth and the warmth of the prosperous province.

The immediate political relations of the province when Bernard was born were with the French kingdom, the other parts of the earlier kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles, having been detached from it, and a descendant of Hugh Capet being its powerful local sov-

ereign. Eight countships — of Dijon, Mâcon, Châlons-sur-Saône, Auxonne, Sémur, Nevers, Auxerre, and Charollais — were included in it; and the dukes of Burgundy, through the extent and richness of their territory, as well as by hereditary royal relationship, were the most powerful peers in France. They were not merely prudent in counsel and brave in battle, but, according to the standard of the times, they were distinctly religious men. One of them, Hugh First, a little before the birth of Bernard, had determined to abdicate his ducal authority, transferring it to his brother, and retiring to the monastery of Clugni; on occasion of which came a letter of sharp reproof to the abbot from Gregory Seventh, denouncing him for consenting to take their protector from such multitudes of the poor, and summoning against him their sighs and tears, with an apostolic precept.[1] The brother who succeeded Hugh became one of the founders of the abbey of Citeaux, and died at Tarsus while on a journey to Palestine. One of his descendants took active part in the subsequent crusade; he built the famous Sainte Chapelle at Dijon, in fulfilment, it is said, of a vow made by him when smitten by tempest; he at last died at Tyre, in A.D. 1102.

By rivers and roads communication was easy with all parts of France; Paris was less than two hundred miles away; while with Dauphiné, Provence, the Lyon-

[1] Tulisti vel recepisti ducem in Cluniacensem quietem, et fecisti ut centum millia Christianorum careant custode. Quod si nostra exhortatio apud te parum valuit, et apostolicæ sedis præceptum in te obedientiam non invenit, cur gemitus pauperum, lacrymæ viduarum, devastatio ecclesiarum, clamor orphanorum, dolor et murmur sacerdotum et monachorum te non terruerunt, ut illud quod Apostolus dicit non postponeres, videlicet: *Charitas quæ sua sunt non quærit.* . . . Hæc ideo dicimus, quia, quod vix aliquis princeps bonus invenitur, dolemus. — *Opera*, lib. vi. ep. xvii.

nais, though the old governmental relations had terminated, there continued special acquaintance and correspondence. The Northern and the Southern dialects — the langue d'oïl and the langue d'oc, which two centuries later became thoroughly interfused in the common French language — were both understood and used in Burgundy, though the Southern idioms were specially familiar; and it had at the same time certain particular relations to Spain, inasmuch as the son of one of its dukes had married the daughter of Alfonso, emperor of Castile and Leon, and had received from him the countship of Portugal. The effect of this was to make the Burgundians habitually familiar, as otherwise they might not have been, with the land of the Cid, and to maintain among them a special degree of military excitement. Out of this relation grew events in which Bernard had afterward lively interest. Such was then the province into whose ruddy and *riant* life, as the eleventh century was drawing to its close, he was born.

His father, Tescelin, was a knight of experience and distinction, descended from the counts of Châtillon, accustomed from youth to military service, and still actively occupied in it. But both he and his wife belonged evidently to that class of persons, not few in number we may hope in the darkest times, of whom Luther speaks in his commentary on Paul's letter to the Galatians: "Some there were," he says, "whom God called by the text of the Gospels, and by baptism. These walked in simplicity and humbleness of heart, thinking the monks and friars, and such only as were anointed of the bishops, to be religious and holy, and themselves to be profane and secular, not worthy to be compared unto these. Wherefore, finding in them-

selves no good works to set against the wrath and judgment of God, they did fly to the death and passion of Christ, and were saved in this simplicity."[1] Of Tescelin it is related that while noble in descent and rich in possessions, he was affable in manner, a great lover of the poor, an assiduous cultivator of piety, with an extraordinary zeal for justice, so that he was wont to wonder that it should seem hard for any to observe justice toward others, especially that they should be detained from it by either fear or love of gain. He was the bravest of soldiers, yet shrank from the praises which others sought. He never took up arms except for the defence of his own territory, or at the call of his feudal lord the Duke of Burgundy, with whom he was on intimate terms; and with him he never went into battle without gaining the victory.[2] It is particularly related of him by another of the early biographers of Bernard that having become engaged in controversy with a man inferior to himself in birth and in property, when the question was to be decided according to custom by a combat of arms, and the day had been fixed, Tescelin, mindful of the Golden Rule, though the more skilful of the two in the use of weapons, and expecting the victory which would bring him large advantage,

[1] Comm. on chap. ii. vs. 16.

[2] Erat autem vir iste genere nobilis, possessionibus dives, suavis moribus, amator pauperum maximus, summus pietatis cultor, et incredibilem habens justitiæ zelum. Denique et mirari solebat, quod multis onerosum esse videret servare justitiam; et maxime (adversus quos amplius movebatur) quod aut timore, aut cupiditate desererent justitiam Dei. Erat quidem miles fortissimus, sed non minori studio laudes ipse fugiebat, quam cæteri captare videantur. Nunquam armis usus est, nisi aut pro defensione terræ propriæ, aut cum domino suo, duce scilicet Burgundiæ, cui plurimum familiaris et intimus erat; nec aliquando fuit cum eo in bello, quin victoria ei proveniret. — *Opera S. Bern.*, vol. sec., Vita, iii. col. 2475. Paris ed., 1839.

made peace with his adversary, and relinquished all that had been in dispute. Remembering the sharp contrast between this action and the temper of the age, one does not wonder that the monkish chronicler was moved to add, "O magna pietas, magna viri clementia!"[1] Certainly a profound religious sensibility appears in Tescelin, in energetic activity, and his whole spirit is shown in harmony with that of the son whose wider renown has caused his name to be remembered.

But the mother of Bernard, Aletta, or Alèthe,[2] was the parent to whom he undoubtedly was most indebted for the fine and rare properties of his spirit, and whose intense devotional temper he most distinctly reproduced.

We greatly err if we conceive of that time, rude as it was, as one in which womanhood attracted no reverence, and Christian women had no places of honor. The instance of Matilda, "the Great Countess" as she was called, should alone be sufficient to dispel this impression. That intimate friend and high-hearted champion of Gregory Seventh, who listened to her counsel when he would to no other, herself a fervent devotee of the Church, yet administering great affairs of state with wisdom, foresight, and a singular courage, familiar with whatever of knowledge and art belonged to her century, and speaking French, German, Provençal, as if either had been her native tongue, yet more remarkable than for all things else for her dauntless consecration to what to her was the righteous cause, — it is no wonder that knight and soldier, as well as prelate, priest, and monk, revered and obeyed

[1] Opera S. Bern., vol. sec., Vita, iv. col. 2493.

[2] Her name is also given as Aalays [Alice], or as Elizabeth, in the early Lives. See Vita, iv. col. 2491; iii. col. 2475.

her; that Cimabue, two centuries later, sought to fix in color for after time the face and figure of which only fading traditions remained; that Dante represented her as a celestial messenger preceding the chariot on which the glorified Beatrice was enthroned.[1] She really interprets to us the time on which her name reflects a splendor.

Nor may we forget the devout mother by whom Matilda had been trained, on whose sarcophagus at Pisa it was inscribed by her order: "Though a sinner, I am the Lady called Beatrice. In this tomb I lie, who was a Countess. Whosoever thou art, say three pater nosters for my soul."[2] Nor should Agnes, mother of Henry Fourth, be forgotten, who laid aside all courtly splendors for the higher welfare sought for the soul; who styled herself, in writing to an abbot for spiritual counsel, "Agnes, empress and sinner," but who was addressed by another as "Blessed Lady, pious mother of the poor, and noble ornament of widowhood."[3] Nor, certainly, should Ida of Bouillon fail to be remembered, "full of piety, and versed in literature," as she was described at the time, and of whose son Godfrey the eulogy was that at the sight of him, humble, gentle, just, chaste, marshalling armies, and ever first to strike the foe, even a rival must say, "For zeal in

[1] Purgatorio, xxviii.–xxx.

[2] Villemain, Hist. de Grég. VII., tom. ii. p. 113.

A sarcophagus, admirably wrought, is now in the Campo Santo at Pisa, having been removed from the Duomo, and still bearing the first part of the inscription which Villemain cites: —

"Quamvis peccatrix, sum Domna vocata Beatrix.
In tumulo missa jaceo quæ Comitissa.
A. D. MLXXVI."

[3] The letters are copied in Maitland's "Dark Ages," pp. 314–321. London ed., 1844.

war, behold his father; for serving God, behold his mother!" It was her spirit which reappeared in him when, after the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, he utterly refused to be crowned with gold where his Master had borne the crown of thorns.[1] Nor may we forget Matilda, of England, another of these remarkable women, nobly born, highly placed, and Christian-hearted, of whom Ordericus says that "beauty of person, high birth, a cultivated mind, an exalted virtue, combined to grace this illustrious queen; and what is still more worthy of immortal praise," he adds, "she was firm in the faith, and devoted to the service of Christ, with fervent zeal daily distributing her charities."[2]

That women like these only represented multitudes of others, of less titular distinction but of the same spirit, and in their respective spheres of a similarly commanding spiritual influence, can hardly need to be argued. They were devoted to the Church, which to their minds expressed and embodied Christianity. It was that Church, with the Gospel which it however imperfectly set forth in the world, which had given to them protection and training, and had been the mother of whatever was best in them. It was that which restrained, so far as they were restrained, the fierce elements of cruel force incessantly active and destructive around them. The stress of the times thus conspired with their highest aspirations to make them devotees. The clergy might be vicious, the prelates arrogant, indolent, unbelieving, but a vivid faith was maintained by the women; and the whole force of their inspiring

[1] Hæc filios in omni disciplina et timore Dei educavit, et quæ digna sunt principatu agere docuit, atque ad sanctos et bonos mores informavit. — *Acta Sanct.*, April. dec. ter. p. 146.

[2] Eccl. Hist., lib. iv. cap. v.; an. 1068.

moral energy was exerted without stint for the furtherance of institutions to which they felt themselves deeply indebted. Oftentimes they sought convent-life for themselves. If unable to do this, their sons and daughters were sacredly devoted to the service of the Church, with an intensity of consecration which, as in the instance of Bernard, shot its influence forward over the whole subsequent life of those to whom they had given birth.

Of those who entered the special separate life of religion, no one is more distinguished in the history of the time than is Hildegarde, the abbess of a convent on the Rupertsberg, near Bingen, to whom Bernard at the height of his fame called the particular attention of the Pope, and to whom Neander, both in his general History and in his life of Bernard, devotes not a few of his ample yet crowded pages.[1] So many of the moral traits of the time are illustrated in her history, she brings before us so much of what was fine and prophetic in its brightening atmosphere, that perhaps you will pardon me if I briefly pause upon it. Of honorable if not of noble parentage, devoted to the cloister from her infancy and entering it at the age of eight years, she had been wont from childhood to see strange radiances, and to feel herself approached by spiritual powers. She kept the extraordinary experiences to herself, though her health suffered severely beneath the pro-

[1] Hist. of Christ. Religion and Church, vol. iv. pp. 17–20; Der heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter, ss. 356–374.

A yet more complete and particular account of Hildegarde, of Bernard's relation to her, and of the honors paid her by popes, emperors, princes, archbishops, and other high officials, is also given by Théodore Ratisbonne in his "Histoire de St. Bernard," tom. ii. pp. 253–281, Paris ed., 1875; and he supplies, in a form accessible to all, important extracts from her letters and other writings.

longed strain of silence. At last relief came, in her forty-third year, through a command to speak, which seemed to her to fall from heaven, and to be verified as Divine by a marvellous attendant lustre.[1] Thenceforward she spoke to princes, prelates, or peoples, with the freedom, the boldness, and almost the authority of one inspired. The mystical spirit which always appeared in her, setting her signally apart from others, was illustrated not only in the sphere of religion, but almost equally in her reverence for music, which she declared to have its origin in the divine voice of the Spirit of God, of which voice terrestrial melodies were but echoes. So she insisted that the art should be cultivated in a devout frame of mind, and called those "sages" who served well on organs. At the same time she was as shrewd in practical counsel as if the sphere of transcendent thought had been wholly beyond her. "I often observe," she wrote to an abbess, who had sought her counsel, "that when a man mortifies his body by excess of abstinence, a certain disgust rises in him, by reason of which disgust vicious indulgences are more apt to entangle him than if he had allowed himself proper nourishment."[2] To another abbess she wrote: "Consider and hold fast the Scriptures, which are set and

[1] Ecce quadragesimo tertio temporalis cursus mei anno, cum cœlesti visione magno timore tremula intentione inhærerem, vidi maximum splendorem, in quo facta est vox de cœlo ad me dicens . . . dic et scribe quæ vides et audis. . . . Et iterum audivi vocem de cœlo mihi dicentem : Dic ergo mirabilia hæc, et scribe ea hoc modo edocta, et dic. . . . Et dixi et scripsi hæc, non secundum adinventionem cordis mei aut ullius hominis, sed ut ea in cœlestibus vidi, audivi et percepi per secreta mysteria Dei. — *S. Hild. Scivias, Præfatio* [Migne], coll. 383–386.

[2] Sæpe video quando homo per nimietatem abstinentiæ corpus suum affligit, quod tædium in illo surgit, et tædio vitia se implicant, plus quam si illud juste pasceret. — *S. Hild. Epist.* cv. col. 327.

nourished in the root of the Holy Spirit, and are written in the Divine wisdom. The Scripture is a mirror, in which we see God. We ought never to tempt Him [by curious questions], but reverently to adore Him. Man often, as by an impulse from God himself, desires to know what it is not permitted him to know, and so departs from divine obedience; at which the devil greatly rejoices, seeing him failing on one side or another. Often the adversary shoots such arrows into man's heart, that through them he may misconceive God. Happy the man who neither desires such, nor accepts them, but who in the very agony of death *lives* in the things of God. . . . The desire to do good things makes the spirit beautiful as a flowering tree. An earnest zeal in the doing of them is far better, like a tree on which growing fruit appears." [1]

Neander seems to accept this remarkable woman, as Bernard did at the time, as gifted with a true prophetic foresight.[2] Whether this were true or not, she

[1] Epist. cxii. coll. 442–443.

[2] A certain faculty of prophecy seems implanted in the spirit of humanity; undefined presentiments hasten to anticipate the mighty future. . . . The spirit of the kingdom of God begets, therefore, in those who are filled with it, a prophetic consciousness, — presentiments in regard to the grand whole of the evolution, which are different from the prediction of individual events not necessarily connected with that whole. — NEANDER, *Hist. of Christ.*, vol. iv. p. 216.

Bernard wrote to her: "I congratulate you on the grace of God toward you, and admonish you to receive it as grace, and that you study to respond to it with humble and devout affection. But where there is the inward wisdom, and the unction which teacheth of all things, how is it possible for one either to teach or to exhort? For you are declared to search out heavenly secrets, and to discover things above human knowledge, by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore I the more entreat and pray that you will have the remembrance of me before God, and equally of those who are associated with me in spiritual fellowship." — *Opera*, vol. prim. epis. ccclxvi. col. 668.

had the clearest discernment of the evils around her, in Church and State, and the most absolute fearlessness in exposing and denouncing them. She was certainly a prophet in interpreting God's will, and in insisting on a spiritual religion. She wrote a letter of extraordinary power and severity to the dean and clergy of Cologne, warning them that the avenging power of God would bow their high heads, because they feared neither God nor man, and did not hate unrighteousness; because they yielded to the desires of the flesh, and did not labor for the glory of God and the salvation of human souls.[1] She wrote with equal severity to the clergy of Mayence, who had trespassed, as she conceived, on the rights of her convent, and against whom she exalted the majesty of God.[2] None were so high in rank or so established in power as to be beyond the reach of her vehement remonstrance or her stinging reproof, if their lives did not illustrate the evangelical spirit. The Pope himself, Eugenius Third, after the important council of Trèves where her writings had been examined, and where Bernard had expressed his

[1] Some sentences from the letter may be quoted: "Sed hoc propter pertinaciam propriæ voluntatis vestræ non facitis. Vos enim nox spirans tenebras estis, et quasi populus non laborans, nec propter tædium in luce ambulans; sed velut nudus coluber in caverna se abscondit, sic vos fœditatem in vilitate pecorum intratis. . . . Sed hoc non estis, sed veloces estis ad lasciviam puerilis ætatis, illorum scilicet, qui de salute sua loqui nesciunt. . . . Nam potestas Dei, colla vestra iniquitate erecta deprimet, et ad nihilum deducet quæ velut in sufflatu venti inflata sunt, cum Deum non cognoscitis, nec hominem timetis, nec iniquitatem contemnitis, ut eam in vobis finiri desideretis. Deum non videtis, nec videre desideratis. Sed opera vestra inspicitis, et ea in vobismetipsis judicatis, scilicet faciendo et relinquendo secundum placitum vestrum quæ vultis." et seq. The letter is xlviii. [Migne], coll. 244–253.

[2] Et audivi vocem sic dicentem: Quis creavit cœlum? Deus. Quis aperit fidelibus suis cœlum? Deus. Quis ejus similis? Nullus. — *Opera*, epist. xlvii. col. 221.

judgment of her character and work, wrote to her with his own hand that he was amazed beyond expression at the new wonders which were being wrought of God, who had so filled her with his Spirit that she could see and reveal the things unseen.[1] Discussions of theologians were submitted to her. The emperor Frederick Barbarossa, one of the boldest of the monarchs of the time, and least inclined to religious obedience, paid her honor and sought her advice;[2] and it certainly illustrates the better forces which had come to activity in the time when she lived, that this frail woman, without wealth, high station, or the power of arms, by her spiritual energy, exhibited through a life unusually prolonged,[3] in wise counsel and a consecrated spirit, conquered the respect and allured the obedience, not of the retired and studious alone, but of the wild soldier, the martial baron, the imperious prince, who sought the word of God through her lips. Her remarkable story, of itself, gives moral lustre to the period.[4]

[1] Miramur, O Filia, et supra id quod credi potest, miramur, quia Deus jam nostris temporibus nova miracula ostendit, cum te spiritu suo ita perfudit quod diceris multa secreta videre, intelligere et proferre. Hoc a veridicis personis ita esse percepimus, qui se fatentur te et vidisse et audisse. Sed quid nos ad hæc dicere valemus, qui clavem scientiæ habentes, ita quod claudere et aperire possimus, et hoc prudenter facere per stultitiam negligimus? Congratulamur igitur gratiæ Dei, congratulamur et dilectioni tuæ, hoc admonentes, ut scias quod Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Gratiam autem hanc quæ in te est conserva et custodi, ita ut ea quæ in spiritu proferenda senseris, prudenter proferas. — *Opera S. Hild.*, epist. prima, col. 145.

[2] Epist. xxvii. coll. 186–187.

[3] Born A.D. 1098, died A.D. 1197. ("Der heilige Bernhard," s. 359.) Ratisbonne says, however, that she died September 17, A.D. 1179 ("Hist. de St. Bernard," tom. ii. p. 281); and this is the date given in the "Acta Sanctorum," apparently after careful examination. She was then in her eighty-second year.

[4] Neander's estimate of her influence is just and emphatic: —

Immer ist es schon, zu sehen, dass die Mächtigsten der Erde, die keine

Among those who did not enter the cloister, but who gave their life to domestic care in noble castles, or often no doubt in lowlier homes, were such as Ermenberga, the mother of Anselm, of whom I have spoken; or such as the mother of Eberhard, afterward Archbishop of Salzburg, who occupied herself with almsgiving and prayer, and who, having caused a church to be erected on her estate, herself carried in part the stones for its walls, walking barefoot as she went.[1]

Such, we may be sure, was the venerated mother of Peter the Venerable, who was himself long and closely connected with Bernard. Of a distinguished family in Auvergne, she had eagerly wished to retire to a convent, but fidelity to her husband during his life had forbidden her to fulfil the desire. After his death, having arranged her affairs and paid a final visit to his grave, she proceeded to the abbey of Marcigni, to find there the rest and delight which, as she said, all riches, honors, and pleasures of the world could not afford. Her influence with her son had already directed him to the monastic life, which his gentleness,

Gewalt fürchteten, sich beugten vor einer Kraft, die sie für höher hielten als Alles, was durch Menschen verliehen werden kann, als alle Majestät der Erde und der sie umgebende Glanz, dass die mächtigsten Fürsten vor den Füssen einer unansehnlichen Nonne, nur desswegen, weil sie dieselbe für das Organ göttlicher Offenbarungen hielten, weil sie von ihr Worte vernahmen, die ihnen an's Herz drangen, den ganzen Prunk ihrer Majestät niederlegten, dass selbst Diejenigen, welche sich die Gewalt beilegten, zu binden und zu lösen für Himmel und Erde, sich demüthigten vor einer unmittelbar aus dem Reiche, zu dem sie nach des Zeitalters Meinung den Schlüssel hatten, erschallenden Stimme. — *Der heilige Bernhard*, s. 374.

[1] Ferrea virtus: cujus bene gesta commendare hoc uno sufficiat, quod ecclesiam in honore S. Mariæ perpetuæ virginis cum viro in curte propria statuens, dimidio ferme milliario nudipes ad eam propriis humeris lapides ferre solebat. . . . Trahebat ibi, cum pedissequis suis, mulierum utriusque conditionis non parvam turbam, saxa portantium. — *Acta Sanct.*, Jun. iv. die vigesima secunda, p. 161.

wisdom, vigor, and piety made illustrious; and after her death he wrote of her to his brothers in the tenderest strains of grateful and admiring Christian affection.[1]

I have cited these examples, to which many might be added, that we may have the fact clearly before us that Christian women, in the midst of centuries so rude and dark, possessed and used great power for the Church; and that the influence of their words, as reinforced by the earnestness of their character and the holiness of their life, became often a mighty though a subtile force, not only for directing the course of their children, but for educating society. It is in the light of this general fact that we are to set the story of Aletta, the mother of Bernard, a woman most faithful, noble, and devout, worthy to be ranked with either whom I have named, and in the effect of her life surpassed by no one. Possibly, no doubt, things strange and fanciful may appear to us, in our critical days, in the narratives which remain as her record. But we must be wholly blind to the true and sovereign beauty of character in wife and mother if we do not clearly discern this in her.

Of noble birth, connected ancestrally with the ducal house of Burgundy, she early desired for herself the convent-life, but was married by her parents at the age of fifteen to Tescelin, the knight of Fontaines, to whom

[1] The long letter, covering still not a few pages, and originally many sheets, closes thus: "Et vos, quibus hanc epistolam scripsi, fratres mei, tantæ matris filii, erubescite degeneres videri; sed a qua sumpsistis vitæ hujus originem, ab ipsa in vos derivate cœlestis, cui vos a puero devovit, amorem. Quæ fuit mater corporum, sit rursum genitrix animorum, ne qui ei consimiles estis corporibus, dissimiles (quod absit) inveniamini moribus. Parturiat vos exemplo et precibus, donec formetur Christus in vobis, ut per eam illum habere mereamini Patrem, per quem ipsam meruistis habere et matrem." — *Opera Petri Ven.*, lib. ii. ep. xvii.

she bore seven children,—six sons and a daughter. For herself she followed in the castle a monastic rule of life,[1] and amid all the cares which came with her station, and with her assiduous attention to her children, she was wont to go personally from house to house among the poor, searching out the needy and infirm, preparing food for them, ministering to the sick, cleansing their poor cups and vessels with her own hands, and performing for them the humblest offices without aid of servants.[2] It is particularly related of her that having dedicated her children to God, and really borne them for Him, she was careful to nurse them herself, contrary to the custom of the time among those of her rank, believing that with the mother's milk something of the mother's spirit might be infused.[3] Bernard, especially, her third son, concerning whom she seemed to herself to have been prophetically taught in a dream that he would be a signal champion of the truth,[4] was

[1] In medio sæculi eremiticam seu monasticam vitam non parvo tempore visa est æmulari, in victus parcitate, in vilitate vestitus, delicias et pompas sæculi a se abdicando, ab actibus et curis sæcularibus, in quantum poterat, se subtrahendo, insistendo jejuniis, vigiliis, et orationibus ; et quod minus assumptæ professionis habebat, eleemosynis et diversis operibus misericordiæ redimendo. — *Opera S. Bernard*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2095.

[2] Consueverat . . . circuire domos, exquirere pauperes, infirmos, et egenos, eisque de suo proprio erogare quod necessarium erat. Claudorum etiam atque debilium maximam habebat curam : non servis, non aliis utens ministris ad hæc officia peragenda, sed per semetipsam hoc agens, ad eorum habitacula veniebat ; . . . ollas eorum extergens, cibos porrigens, calices diluens, et alia cuncta faciens, quæ servis et ministris mos est serviliter operari. — *Opera S. Bernard*, vol. sec., Vita, iv. col. 2493.

[3] Deo namque, non sæculo generans, singulos mox ut partu ediderat, ipsa manibus propriis Domino offerebat. Propter quod etiam alienis uberibus nutriendos committere illustris femina refugiebat, quasi cum lacte materno materni quodammodo boni infundens eis naturam. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2092.

[4] Opera, vol. sec. Vita, i. col. 2093.

thus dedicated to the service of Christ with all the energy of maternal devotion; and the influence of the fact conspicuously appears in his whole life.

Not many incidents are recorded of the devout and modest life of this elect lady, but those which attended her death were so remarkable that a particular and affectionate narrative of them was made by her nephew, which still remains to us. She had been long accustomed to invite the neighboring clergy to the castle on the festival of Saint Ambrosien, the patron saint of the church at Fontaines.[1] Before her death there came to her a strong presentiment that it was appointed to her to pass from the earth on that particular day; and of this she informed her husband and her household, without however interrupting or postponing the festal arrangements. On the evening before the feast she was in fact stricken with violent fever; and on the next day, having received the sacraments of the Eucharist and the Holy Unction, she called the assembled clergy after their supper to meet at her bedside, announced to them her imminent dissolution, and joined with them in the petitions of the Litany for the departing. When the touching and sublime invocation was reached, "By Thy cross and passion, O Lord, deliver her!" her voice failed in death, but with lifted hand, tracing for the last time the cross in the air, she rendered up her spirit in peace. Without fear or regret, in the tranquillity of a perfect faith, she had gone to meet the waiting angels; and it was with something of

[1] Saint Ambroisien était un évêque martyrisé en Arménie. Une légende raconte que ses reliques avaient été portées de Terre Sainte en Bourgogne par un chevalier de la famille de Saint Bernard. — RATISBONNE: *Hist. de St. Bernard*, tom. i. p. 71.

wondering awe that those around her saw her hand still raised in its last action.[1]

Her body was sought, after her death, by the abbot of the convent of St. Benignus at Dijon, as a most precious treasure for his house. It was carried thither with bended heads and flowing tears, was met on the way by the whole population bearing crosses and candles, and was laid with exceeding joy and veneration in its resting-place under the shadow of the great basilica. There it remained a century and a half, till the monks of Clairvaux claimed and received all that was left of the "holy body" of the blessed mother of their great abbot.[2]

It seems to me that in this brief and tender story, taken directly from ancient records, is answer enough to those who imagine that the beauty of feminine charity and piety was not then recognized, and that only the fierce collisions and catastrophes of politics and of arms engaged and impressed the minds of men.

If ever a mother's wish and prayer, and Christian counsel, determined the character and career of a son, those of the mother of Bernard determined his. After her death, which occurred while he was still a youth, her

[1] Adsunt clerici: quibus congregatis, in spiritu congratulans ancilla Christi, nuntiat dissolutionem sui corporis imminere. Illi autem Dominum pro ea suppliciter exorantes, litaniam incœperunt: cum quibus ipsa, quousque ultimum exhalaret spiritum, devotissime psallebat. Cum vero chorus psallentium jam pervenisset ad illam litaniæ supplicationem, "Per passionem et crucem tuam libera eam, Domine," necdum cessans a supplicatione, in ipso mortis articulo, in manus Domini commendans spiritum suum, elevata manu signans se signaculo sanctæ crucis, in pace reddidit spiritum: procul dubio receptum ab Angelis. . . . In hunc modum sancta illa anima de templo sancti corporis egressa, manus, sicut erat erecta ad indicandum signum crucis, videntibus et admirantibus cunctis qui aderant, sic remansit. — *Opera S. Bern.*, Vita, iv. vol. sec. coll. 2494–95.

[2] *Opera S. Bernard*, vol. sec., Vita, iv. col. 2495.

image continued vividly before him. He remembered her words, and meditated affectionately on her plans for himself. More than once he thought or felt that she personally appeared to him; and it was in connection with an impression of this kind that his final devotion to the monastic life took immediate effect. While she still lived he had been sent to the cathedral school at Châtillon, and had there distinguished himself among his fellows, surpassing them in grace and genius as well as in proficiency in his studies. He had been remarked, even then, as one who loved to be by himself, shunning public prominence, not given to much talk, yet marvellously thoughtful, kind and obedient, faithful and modest, devoted to God, and careful to keep his boyhood pure.[1] Then, and afterward, his reverence for the chastity of his body was as delicate as that of the purest of women, while it had in it the strength of virile passion. It is strikingly illustrated in several incidents of which his biographers give the narrative.[2]

When he stood face to face with the world after the death of his mother, four different paths were open to him, either of which he might have pursued, doubtless with distinguished success. To one of his fine presence, graceful and attractive manners, combined as in him they were with great activity of mind, a fearlessness of spirit that never failed, and an extraordinary power of command over others, the court and the camp

[1] Puer autem et gratia plenus, et ingenio naturali pollens, . . . in litterarum quidem studio supra ætatem et præ coætaneis suis proficiebat; . . . amans habitare secum, publicum fugitans, mire cogitativus, parentibus obediens et subditus; omnibus benignus et gratus, domi simplex et quietus, foris rarus, et ultra quam credi posset verecundus; nusquam multum loqui amans, Deo devotus, ut puram sibi pueritiam suam conservaret. — *Opera S. Bern.*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2093.

[2] Vol. sec., Vita, i. coll. 2096-97, ii. col. 2408.

offered every opportunity, promising wealth, rank, pleasure, in the utmost abundance. If he were not drawn toward either of these, the schools of the time, fast rising in importance, and destined ere long to grow to universities, opened a large and inviting field to his eager genius, wherein could be exercised and enjoyed to the full his skill in dialectics, his power of studious contemplation, with his surpassing gift of eloquent speech. He felt this attraction himself; his brothers and friends strongly presented it; and his ultimate decision was delayed in consequence.[1] Even if he chose a distinctly religious life, the Church, with all its offices and honors, its magnificent buildings, splendid privileges, vast emoluments, invited him to enter it and to take from it whatever he wished of princely position, revenue, fame. Others might have to strive for its offices; he could have them without an effort, almost without asking; and certainly a spirit essentially ambitious, though retaining a measure of Christian fervor, might have gladly embraced such an opportunity, and have thus united large influence for good with the leisure and distinction of an assured and brilliant position.

Bernard turned from everything else in the way of a career to the most severe and exacting monastic life, in a recent and poor convent, unknown to fame, amid desolate surroundings, its fields only partially redeemed as yet from the sullen wilderness by the axe and the plough; and he did it, plainly, under the impressions which the whole spirit and life of Aletta had left upon him. Modest and gentle as she had been, there had been an immense radiancy of character in her. Her intense devotion survived and conquered over the very

[1] Opera., vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2098.

dust of death. The sacred memory of her was so present to her son that he seemed to see her standing before him, lamenting and reproving his hesitation to choose the noblest things; and when, as he was reasoning with his younger brother Andrew, to persuade him to the consecration to which he had himself passionately come, Andrew suddenly exclaimed, under the impulse of his fervent words, "I see my Mother!" Bernard confessed the same vivid vision.[1] No one can carefully study the man without feeling that the impassioned moral life of Aletta was reproduced in him with singular completeness, though in union of course with the more masculine and masterful spirit derived from his father. In the combination of the strong sense of justice, the effective public talent, the commanding skill, patience, and energy, by which Tescelin had been marked, with the devout sensibility, the spiritual intensity, and the fervent intuition of duty and of truth, which Aletta had imparted, rests the secret of the genius, the character, and the work for which he is memorable.

One hardly can avoid feeling that even in his face, his figure, his bearing, the mother was repeated more distinctly than the father. The elegance of his person, the beauty of his face, the charming grace of his man-

[1] Sed matris sanctæ memoria importune animo ejus instabat, ita ut sæpius sibi occurrentem videre videretur, conquerentem et improperantem, quia non ad hujusmodi nugacitatem tam tenere educaverat, non in hac spe erudierat eum. . . . Porro Andreas, Bernardo etiam ipse junior, et novus eo tempore miles, verbum fratris difficilius admittebat, donec subito exclamavit, "Video matrem meam!" Visibiliter siquidem ei apparuit, serena facie subridens, et congratulans proposito filiorum. Nec solus vidit Andreas tantorum matrem filiorum lætantem, sed confessus est et Bernardus eamdem similiter se vidisse. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. coll. 2098–99.

ner, were recognized in his youth.[1] In his later years he is described as of about the middle height, but appearing taller; very thin, with light golden hair, a reddish beard which in age became mingled with white, cheeks on which a subtle blush easily played, with eyes pure and dove-like, with a singular brightness of countenance, and with his whole person suffused, as through the grace of his spirit, with a peculiar and winning charm.[2] Those who saw his physical frailty, and yet knew of his labors, felt as if in him a lamb had been harnessed to pull a plough;[3] yet he shared in all the work of the monastery, while taking upon himself immense labors from without; and when he spoke under excitement it was noticed that all trace of bodily feebleness disappeared, and that he was as one transfigured. It seems clear enough that much of the mother appeared again in even the bodily presence of the son, for whom she had so earnestly prayed, and to whose life she had so largely given impulse and control.

But he must have inherited far more from Aletta than outward grace and beauty of person, — even the ethereal properties of spirit which were singularly combined in him with intellectual force and with dauntless resolution. It is by these that he seems to me most distinctly set apart from the other principal men of his time, as it was by these in large measure, under God's assistance, that he became for an entire generation the most commanding man in Europe.

One does not know, for example, in the absence of particular information, how Tescelin may have been

[1] Eleganti corpore, grata facie præeminens, suavissimis ornatus moribus. — Vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2096.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, ii. col. 2417.

[3] Ac si agnus ad aratrum alligatus arare cogeretur. — Vita, ii. col. 2426.

affected by the beauty of nature, as its lovely forms and colors presented themselves around his castle. But from what we know of his judicial and martial temper, and of his customary habit of life, it seems natural to infer that that quiet and deep enjoyment in the visible works of God which Bernard felt, except when it was transiently expelled by some critical purpose or superior passion, must have come from his mother. Everything shows her exquisite sensibility, her delicate, refined, responsive spirit, searching after God wherever she might find Him; and as she must often have gazed on the ranges of hills — the Côte d'Or, or "Golden Slope" — which rose on the west before the castle, probably already terraced with vineyards, rising to a table-land shadowed by trees and luxuriant with grains and grasses, and on the rich landscape which lay between, it is at least not improbable that an influence from the scene entered into her life; that something of peace, uplift, delight, possibly even of celestial expectation, came with it to her soul; that to her illumined eyes the goodness of God was evident through it, as through a transient diaphanous veil. If this were so, we can trace to its origin the feeling which her son fervently expressed, many years after, when he said that whatever he had learned of the Scriptures, and of their spiritual meaning, had chiefly come to him while he was meditating and praying in the woods or the fields, with no other teachers than beech-trees and oaks.[1] In the same sense he wrote to Heinrich of Mur-

[1] Nam usque hodie quidquid in Scripturis valet, quidquid in eis spiritualiter sentit, maxime in silvis et in agris meditando et orando se confiteturaccepisse; et in hoc nullos aliquando se magistros habuisse, nisi quercus et fagos, joco illo suo gratioso inter amicos dicere solet. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2109.

dach, a celebrated teacher of scholastic philosophy, afterward Archbishop of York: "Trust one who has learned by experience! Thou wilt find something larger in the woods than in books! The trees and rocks shall teach thee what thou never canst learn from human masters. Dost thou think it not possible to suck honey from stones, and oil from the flinty rock? But do not the mountains drop sweetness, and the hills flow with milk and honey, and the valleys stand thick with corn?"[1] His supreme lessons were always from the Scriptures, which he studied, in the form in which he possessed them, with an assiduous zeal which we may well emulate; but he found great lessons and inspiring suggestions in the lovely and lofty works of God, and kept for these an open sense. It is something quite remarkable, certainly, that while he was the busiest man of his time, and while society and life incessantly challenged his immediate attention, not with picturesque pageants, but with great religious and secular movements on which he was prompt to impress his force, he kept always his relish for the country, and his early familiarity with

> — "meadow, grove, and stream,
> The earth, and every common sight."

Cities oppressed, while the silent and peaceful scenes of nature revived his spirit. I cannot but think that the memory and the influence of his mother, with a touch of her transmitted temper, had contributed to apparel for him whatever was grand or charming in the earth with something of celestial light.

[1] Experto crede: aliquid amplius invenies in silvis quam in libris. Ligna et lapides docebunt te, quod a magistris audire non possis. An non putas posse te sugere mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo? An non montes stillant dulcedinem, et colles fluunt lac et mel, et valles abundant frumento? — *Opera*, vol. prim., epis. cvi. col. 288.

But other traits, more essential than this, and more deeply characteristic, exhibit this distinct maternal inheritance. We cannot be mistaken in finding it in the tenderness and fervor of his affectionate nature. How intense this was in him, and how free and intense in familiar expression, no student of his life can need to be reminded. It was shown, for example, when his young relative, Robert, had left Clairvaux, to enter the wealthier monastery of Clugni, allured by its less exacting spirit and more tolerant indulgence. The heart of Bernard was smitten by the desertion more than it could have been by physical disaster, while it was troubled with anxious apprehension for the spiritual safety of a disciple so wanting in austerity of purpose, and yet so dear. So he wrote him an epistle as passionate as a love-letter, though almost as extended as a treatise. "I am no longer able," he said, "to veil my grief, to suppress my anxiety, to dissemble my sorrow. Therefore, contrary to the order of justice, I who have been wounded am constrained to recall him who hath wounded me; I, the despised, must seek after him who hath despised me; after suffering injury, I must offer satisfaction to him from whom the injury has come; I must, in a word, entreat him who ought rather to entreat me. But grief does not deliberate, it knows no shame, it does not consult reason, it does not fear any lowering of dignity, does not conform itself to rule, does not submit itself to sound judgment; it ignores method and rule; the mind is wholly and only occupied with this: to seek to be rid of what it pains it to have, or to gain what it grieves it to want. . . . I am wretched because I miss thee, because I do not see thee, because I live without thee, for whom to die would be to me life, to live without whom is to die! Only come back, and all

will be peace. Return, and I shall be at rest. Return, I say: return! and I shall joyfully sing, 'He that was dead is alive again; he was lost, and is found.' No doubt it may have been by my fault that you departed. I must have appeared severe to so delicate a youth, and in my own hardness have treated thy tenderness too harshly. . . . What I say, my son, I do not say to confound thee, but to admonish my most dear boy; for though thou mayest have many teachers in Christ, thou hast not many fathers. If thou wilt permit me to say so, I myself have brought thee forth into the life of religion, by instruction and example. How can it please thee that another should glory in thee who has in no way labored for thee?"[1] The whole letter from which these few sentences are extracted is tumultuous with emotion. It was reported among the monks that being dictated to a scribe, like many of Bernard's, it was written on parchment in the open air, and that when a shower fell upon everything around, the fervor of love on these ardent pages kept them dry; wherefore in the collection of his letters it was placed first.[2] The miracle we may doubt. The fervor of feeling is before us; and it is pleasant to know that, though its immediate effect was not apparent, he to whom it was addressed returned later to Clairvaux, and afterward lived there, or was himself the head of a monastery in the diocese of Besançon, many years.[3]

Another, and in some respects a still more remarkable, example of Bernard's extreme tenderness of feeling is presented in the sermon which he preached after the death of his brother Gerard, who died in the con-

[1] Vol. prim., epist. i., ad Robertum, coll. 101–111.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2128.

[3] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, iv. col. 2493; Ratisbonne, tom. i. p. 147.

vent at Clairvaux when Bernard was forty-seven years old. At first it was noticed that the abbot performed his duties as usual, with accustomed regularity, and in a seemingly stoical tranquillity. But when he began to preach, as his wont was at the time, in exposition of the Canticles, his special text for the day being, "As the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon," after a few introductory sentences his exposition was suspended by an almost volcanic outburst of passionate affection and irresistible grief. Some extracts from the sermon will sufficiently present this: —

"But my grief commands an end, and the calamity which I suffer! How long shall I dissemble, and hide the fire within, which scorches my sad heart, consumes my vitals! Closely shut up, it secretly spreads, and rages with the greater fierceness. What have I to do with this canticle, who am myself in bitterness of soul? The vehemence of grief interrupts my purpose, and the indignation of the Lord drinks up my spirit. He has been taken from me through whose presence my studies of God were wont to be free, and with him my very heart has forsaken me. But hitherto I have put constraint upon my soul, and have dissembled until now, lest feeling should seem to conquer faith. While others were weeping, I, as you must have observed, followed with dry eyes the unseen corpse; with dry eyes I stood at the tomb, while the funeral services were being performed. Clad in priestly robes, I completed with my own lips the customary prayers. With my own hands I cast the earth, according to the custom, upon the dead body of my beloved, soon itself to become but earth. Those who saw me wept, and marvelled that I did not also weep; since all commiserated, not him certainly, but me who had lost him. For

whose heart, though of very iron, would not be moved at seeing me outliving Gerard? There was indeed a loss common to us all, but in comparison with my individual bereavement it was not considered. But with whatever forces of faith I could command, I resisted my feeling, striving against myself, not to be vainly moved by this allotment of nature, this payment of the debt due from all men, this customary incident of our mortal condition, by the command of Him who is powerful, the judgment of Him who is just, the stroke of Him who is terrible, by the will of the Lord. In this way I then and afterward constrained myself to refrain from much weeping, however heavily troubled and full of sorrow. . . . But who else was so peculiarly necessary to me? By whom was I equally beloved? He was my brother by blood, still more my brother in the life of religion. I was infirm in body, and he sustained me; I was weak in spirit, and he comforted me; I was sluggish and negligent, and he spurred me on; careless and forgetful, and he admonished me. Oh, wherefore hast thou been torn from me? Why art thou thus snatched from my arms? — thou man of one mind with myself, thou man after mine own heart! We loved each other in life; why by Death are we divided? Oh, most bitter separation, which nothing but Death could have wrought! For whom would Gerard living have left me, while I continued in life? It is wholly the work of Death, this horrible divorce! Who would not have spared the sweet ties of our mutual affection, except only Death, the enemy of all sweetness! . . . Why, I ask, have we loved, or have we lost? Hard condition! But mine, not his, is the pitiable lot. For thou, dear Brother, if thou hast left those dear to thee here, hast greeted those dearer still! But what

consolation remains for me in my misery, after that thou my consoler hast gone? . . . Who will grant it to me that I may quickly follow thee in death? For I would not die in thy place, nor defraud thee of thy glory. But from this time on to survive thee is labor and grief. I shall live, while I live, in bitterness of soul; I shall live in sorrow; and this must be my consolation, that by my sorrow I shall also be stricken prostrate. . . . Flow out, flow out, ye eager tears! Flow out, since he who would have hindered your passage himself hath passed! Let the torrents of my suffering head be opened, and the fountains of waters burst forth, if perhaps they may wash away the soils of sin by which I have deserved the fierce anger of God! . . . But this my weeping is not a sign of unbelief, it is only an indication of our human condition; nor because I moan when smitten do I accuse Him who smites. Though my words are full of grief, no murmuring is in them. The good and righteous God hath done everything well. I will sing to thee, O Lord, of mercy and judgment! The mercy shall sing to Thee, which Thou showedst to Thy servant Gerard; the judgment shall also sing, which we ourselves bear. As gracious in the one as Thou art just in the other, Thou shalt be praised! . . . But tears again put an end to my words. Do Thou, O Lord, impose the measure and the end of the tears!"[1]

I cannot but think that even such fragmentary extracts from prolonged letters and discourses must give us glimpses of the heart of Bernard, of the infinite deeps of his tender affection, the inexpressible fulness of his passionate pathos; and I am as sure as of anything not apparent to the senses, or not included in personal con-

[1] Opera, vol. prim., coll. 2816–2827.

sciousness, that this had come to him as a vital inheritance, not from a long series of feudal lords and fighting barons, but from the breast of the tender, devout, heroic mother, who years before had been carried to her grave. To her he owed it, under God, that while strong with the strongest, he was impassioned and fond as the most ardent woman; and it was her spirit in him which sighed and sorrowed, or rose to summits of Christian triumph.

The same fine quality of spirit, feminine, not effeminate, gentle, but surpassingly heroic, appears in all his character and life. His early career showed it, with his passionate fight against the allurements of ambition or of lust. The record of his conversion sets it vividly before us. He was riding toward the camp of the Duke of Burgundy, to join his brothers who were already there besieging a castle, when the image of his mother, disappointed and reproving, took possession of his soul. He retired to a church by the roadside to pray; and there, with streaming tears, lifting up his hands toward heaven, he poured out his heart like water in the presence of God. From that hour his course was determined, and his purpose unchangeable, to lead a wholly religious life.[1] The charms of study could not detain him; the prospect of rank and riches in the Church never for a moment entangled his will; there was no attraction in society or in the camp to allure him from his purpose of a supremely consecrated life. With instantaneous eagerness, after reaching his brothers,

[1] Inventaque in itinere medio ecclesia quadam, divertit, et ingressus oravit cum multo imbre lacrymarum, expandens manus in cœlum, et effundens sicut aquam cor suum ante conspectum Domini Dei sui. Ea igitur die firmatum est propositum cordis ejus. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2098.

he sought to lead them to join him, and with great delight found himself in this strangely successful. One by one, yielding to his impetuous earnestness, they formed with him a harmonious company. Gerard, the second son, whose death afterward, as we have seen, moved him to the most passionate grief, was at the time a daring young soldier, wise in counsel, fearless in action, in the highest repute, and he proved the hardest to be gained; but even his resistance gave way ere long. The uncle, also, the Lord of Touillon, followed the lead of the impassioned Bernard; and the youngest of the household group, Nivard, who was still a child playing with his companions at home in the castle-area, was not long behind the others.[1] Entering soon after into a church with those thus spiritually associated with him, Bernard heard the text read: "Faithful is God, because He who hath begun a good work in you Himself will perfect it, unto the day of Jesus Christ," and it came to him as if it had fallen directly from the skies.[2] The Spirit of God seemed immediately addressing him, through the words written centuries before by the aged apostle, from the Roman Prætorium.

Yet there was nothing transient or spasmodic in the vividness of conviction or the ardor of feeling in this

[1] The story of the boy, Nivard, is too touching in itself, and too significant of the religious temper of the household, not to be repeated: —

Videns autem Guido primogenitus fratrum suorum Nivardum fratrem suum minimum, puerum cum pueris aliis in platea: "Eia," inquit, "frater Nivarde, ad te solum respicit omnis terra possessionis nostræ." Ad quod puer, non pueriliter motus: "Vobis ergo," inquit, "cælum, et mihi terra? Non ex æquo divisio hæc facta est." Quo dicto abeuntibus illis, tunc quidem domi cum patre remansit, sed modico post evoluto tempore fratres secutus, nec a patre, nec a propinquis seu amicis potuit retineri. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2104.

[2] Vita, i. col. 2101.

high-hearted and sensitive man. His enthusiasm was rooted in a deep and energetic moral life; it was therefore continuous, as well as intense, yielding to no obstacle, quailing before no vehement resistance, and counting no way too long or hard if it led to the end supremely before him. His courage was as perfect, his fortitude as unyielding, as his affection was tender, his emotion unrestrained. Whatever service or sacrifice seemed needful for the welfare of man, as he understood this, and for the greater glory of God, he was instantly ready to undertake; and he swept to the performance of whatever duty with such an unsparing and inspiring exertion of every energy as certified his followers of victory beforehand, and made it nearly as impossible to resist him as to stop a stone hurled from a catapult. A man more entirely sincere and unselfish in his spirit and aims seems hardly to have lived since the Apostles; and certainly one more free from limitations, through any fear of either the craft or the violence of men, seems not to me to have trodden the earth.

When the great Count of Champagne, in whose territory lay the convent of Clairvaux, had inflicted injustice on one of his vassals, Bernard, whose heart was touched by the suffering of the man and of his family, first applied to the count for a reparation which was not given, and then wrote to him with a sharpness which probably no other man in the province would have dared to use: "If I had asked of you gold, or silver, or anything of that sort, I trust you so far as to believe that without doubt I should have received them. But why do I say 'if I had asked'? since, not asking at all, I have received many gifts from your generosity. But this one thing which I *have* asked, not for my sake

but for God's sake, not for myself so much as for you, from yourself, — what reason exists why I am not worthy to receive it? . . . Do you not fear that word of the Scripture, 'with whatsoever measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again'? Do you not know that as easily as you have disinherited Humbert, — as easily? yea, incomparably more easily, — God can cast you out from the heavenly inheritance?" The count promised to restore his goods to the injured man, with his annulled rights; but, apparently through the opposition of some who had been profiting by the injustice, he failed to do this; whereupon Bernard wrote him again, regretting that he had to be troublesome to one whose attention was engaged with other matters, but saying: "If I fear to offend you by such repeated writing, how much more must I fear to offend God, to whom I owe the greater reverence, by failing to intercede on behalf of the suffering! I return my thanks for the favor which in this matter I have found in your eyes, that you have worthily accepted the defence of Humbert, and have most justly repelled the false accusation against him. But when you have decided that the inheritance of his wife and children shall be returned to them, I cannot enough wonder what it is which hinders so pious a sentence from being followed by suitable action. . . . Falsely, not truly, does he esteem you, fraudulent and not faithful is his counsel, who tries to obscure your noble fame for truth in the interest of his own avarice; who, through what malice I know not, to accomplish his purpose on the suffering poor, would empty of meaning the word which your own lips have spoken, a word well-pleasing to God, worthy of yourself, religiously just, and righteously religious. Do this, that the truth of your promise may be fully shown! Let the inheri-

tance of Humbert be restored to his wife and his children."[1] The powerful and irresponsible sovereign of the province, grandson of William the Conqueror, so rich in treasures and in troops that he faced without fear the king of France in equal battle, was no more to Bernard than a hind at the plough, when he was tardy in doing justice. Nor could his personal kindness blind, any more than the reach of his power could daunt, the clear-sighted and invincible spirit.

A yet more signal instance of his extraordinary fearlessness was given later, A.D. 1135. It is one of the most remarkable in biography, seeming almost to belong to the pages of romance. William, Duke of Aquitaine, whose dominion extended over Poitou, Limousin, the old Duchy of Gascony, covering the rich regions of southwestern France, with a still wider collateral sovereignty, had expelled certain bishops from their sees, and supplied their places with allies of his own, whom he afterward refused to remove. He was a man of vast stature and of almost gigantic strength, handsome and haughty, with a peculiarly violent, sensual, and intractable temper.[2] He was controlled by no

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. xxxvii., xxxviii., coll. 183–185.

[2] He was the father of Eleanor, the turbulent and imperious queen of Louis Seventh of France, and, after her separation from him, of Henry Second of England. Her son Richard, Cœur de Lion, inherited some of the qualities of the grandfather, of whom Ratisbonne gives a sufficient description: —

Élevé au milieu des pompes d'une cour splendide, il montra dès son bas âge un caractère indomptable et une funeste inclination au mal. . . . Homme brillant et prodigue, avec les forces d'un athlète et la taille d'un géant, bon chevalier d'armes, dit un vieux écrivain, il réunissait dans sa personne la beauté et la force, et se montrait à tout venant redoutable et querelleur. . . . C'était un Nemrod par sa passion de batailler; un dieu Bel par la quantité de viandes qu'il mangeait; un Hérode par ses crimes et ses incestes; et il se vantait, comme les gens de Sodome, de ses ignominies. — *Hist. de St. Bernard*, tom i. pp. 274–275.

legal authority in his wide domains, while his fierce and vicious animal life made him habitually disdainful toward religion. Already, four years before, Bernard had had an interview with him at the monastery of Chatelliers, but had failed to make any lasting impression, the duke returning with new eagerness to his execrable life, as if to stifle any remorse awakened by the fervent monk. Toward the Bishop of Poictiers, especially, he had shown an almost delirious fury. To this remorseless and terrible ruffian, savage in spirit, uncontrollable, and fenced about with all resources of human strength, now again came Bernard, as the associate of Geoffrey, the Bishop of Chartres, who had been appointed Papal legate. The stubborn and rebellious count readily enough consented to recognize Innocent as Pope, but he utterly refused to return to their sees the deposed bishops. They had offended him past forgiveness; and he had sworn a tremendous oath never to be reconciled to them. It was almost like reasoning with a tropical storm, or addressing arguments to the brutal fierceness of a wild beast. Bernard broke off the useless discussion, and proceeded to the church to celebrate mass. The count was compelled to remain at the door, as one beneath the censure of the Church. When the host had been consecrated, Bernard, with lifted arms and flashing face, and with eyes that burned with indignant menace, advanced directly to him with the paten in his hands, and said in tones of terrible authority: "We have besought you, and you have spurned us. This united multitude of the servants of God, meeting you elsewhere, has entreated you, and you have despised them. Behold, here comes to you the Virgin's Son, the Head and Lord of the Church which you persecute! Your Judge is here, at whose

name every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth! Your Judge is here, into whose hands your soul is to pass! Will you spurn Him, also? Will you despise Him, as you have despised His servants?" An awful silence fell on the assembly, and a dread expectation, as if miracles were impending. The furious and implacable count, pierced in spirit, fell to the ground with loosened and unsupporting limbs, and lay there, prone, speechless, insensible. Lifted by his knights, he could not stand or speak or see, and fell again, foaming at the mouth. Bernard bade him rise, and listen standing to the judgment of God. He presented the Bishop of Poictiers, who had been violently expelled from his see, and commanded the count to give him then and there the kiss of peace, and restore him to his throne.

The terrible soldier did not dare to answer, nor was he able; but he meekly obeyed, and with a kiss led the bishop to his place. He who had an army at his back, and who himself could have smitten Bernard into instant death with one swift blow of fist or mace, yielded to the onset of his overwhelming and incalculable will. Nor only for the time; he gave himself up, from that time on, to repentance for sin, and the service of religion. He is said to have died not long after, on a penitential visit to the shrine of Saint Jacques, at Compostella. His stubborn spirit had been broken and blasted in that awful encounter. The piercing eyes of the tender but intense and terrific Bernard had been to him almost literally prophetic of those which shall be seen hereafter as "flames of fire."[1]

[1] The full account of this remarkable scene is to be found in the Vita, i. lib. 2, vol. sec. coll. 2171–73. Some of the expressions are very striking: "Vir Dei, jam non se agens ut hominem, corpus Domini super patenam

It was not in contacts with such men only, rude and hard-nerved, that the Abbot of Clairvaux showed the intrepid and perfect daring which had come to him, no doubt, from both father and mother, but in which a flash of feminine intensity seems especially evident. It gave a certain decisiveness to his idiom, which even an indifferent reader must recognize. Thus in a great council at Rheims, where a question of the Divine nature was being discussed before the Pope and the cardinals, with the more learned of the clergy of France, Bernard asked that certain words of a powerful bishop whose doctrine he was controverting be written down, which accordingly was done. But Bernard himself, in continuing the discussion, having used a form of words displeasing to the cardinals, who favored his opponent, the irritated bishop demanded that his words also be written down. "Yea!" said Bernard, with the vehement firmness which no assault could disturb, "Let them be written with an iron pen, with a point of adamant, and be graven in the rock!" — repeating the words with new emphasis as he spoke.[1]

When Louis Seventh of France, enraged against the Count of Champagne, invaded the province, and laid it waste with fire and sword, and when Theobald, deserted by his vassals, could not resist him, Bernard wrote to the king in words of indignant and effective rebuke:

ponit et secum tollit, atque ignea facie, et flammeis oculis, non supplicans, sed minax foras egreditur, et verbis terribilibus aggreditur Ducem. . . . Lacrymabantur universi qui aderant, et orationibus intenti præstolabantur exitum rei; et omnium suspensa exspectatio, nescio quid divinum fieri cœlitus exspectabat. Videns Comes Abbatem in spiritu vehementi procedentem, et sacratissimum Domini Corpus ferentem in manibus, expavit et diriguit, membrisque tremebundis metu et dissolutis, quasi amens solo provolvitur."

[1] Opera, vol. sec., epist. Gauf. col. 2555.

"All too quickly and too lightly have you started back from the good and healthful counsel which you had accepted, and again have hastily returned, as I hear, through I know not what diabolical suggestion, to the evils which lately you were sorry to have perpetrated. From whom, I say, except from the Devil, can have proceeded this counsel, by which it comes to pass that fires are added to fires, murders to murders, while the cries of the poor, the groans of the chained, the blood of the slain, sound in the ears of Him who is the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of widows! Plainly, with such sacrifices the ancient enemy of our race may be well pleased, since he was a murderer from the beginning. . . . You have not listened to words of peace, nor kept your own compacts, nor hearkened to wise counsel: but, I know not under what judgment of God, you have so perverted everything as to count shame honor, and honor shame; you have been afraid of what was safe, and have despised what ought to be feared; you have loved those who hated you, and have held in hatred those who desired to love you. They who have incited you to repeat your old malice against those who have not offended have sought, not your honor, but their advantage; yea, not so much their own advantage as the good pleasure of the Devil. . . . In the murders of men, the burning of dwellings, the destruction of churches, the scattering of the poor, you take part with the robbers and ruffians, according to the word of the prophet, 'When you saw a thief you ran in company with him, and took your portion with adulterers;' as if you had not strength enough in yourself to do evil. . . . I admonish and faithfully counsel you quickly to desist from these malign courses, if perchance by penitence and humility you may stay the hand of Him who

is preparing to smite you, after the example of the Ninevite king. I speak harshly, because I fear harder things in reserve for you; but remember what was said by the wise man, 'Better are the wounds of a friend than the false kiss of an enemy.'"[1]

The fervent and majestic rebuke of Bernard was not instantly effective; but after a time it took effect, and the subsequent readiness of Louis to engage in the second crusade is attributed in part to the remorse which he felt at the cruelties of the war which the abbot had denounced. He became so completely reconciled to Theobald as afterward to marry his daughter.

There was less of indignant severity, but certainly not less of an almost startling moral audacity, in Bernard's address to Henry of Normandy, king of England, when he sought from him an acknowledgment of Innocent as the Pope. The English bishops being opposed to this, the king hesitated and practically refused. "What are you afraid of?" was the passionate and successful appeal of Bernard. "Do you fear to incur sin by recognizing Innocent as pontiff? Know that for your other sins you shall give account for yourself unto God. Leave this one to me! The whole sin shall rest upon myself."[2]

To the Pope himself, whom he revered in his office as the divinely appointed Head of the Church, he wrote in sharpest remonstrance, with a criticism which scorched, when occasion demanded. Innocent Second had failed to fulfil a promise made for him, on his authority, by Bernard, and the letters which the latter had written on the matter had not been effective. Then went another from Clairvaux, which could not be

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. ccxxi. coll. 449–451.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. col. 2148.

unheeded: "Who shall execute justice for me upon you? If I had any judge before whom I might cite you, I would instantly show you — I speak this as one travailing in pain — what you have deserved at my hands. There stands, indeed, the tribunal of Christ; but God forbid that I should summon you before that; I, who would rather, if it were needful for you or possible to me, stand there in your place with all my strength, and make answer to the Judge on your behalf. I return, therefore, to him to whom it is given for the present to be the Judge in the world, that is, to yourself; I summon you to answer to yourself; judge you, between me and you."[1]

So he wrote to the same pontiff, on another occasion: "I speak faithfully, because I love truly. . . . It is the united voice of all among us who with faithful care preside over the people, that justice perishes in the Church, that the power of the keys is annulled, and Episcopal authority is brought to contempt; since no bishop has it in his power to avenge injuries done to God, nor can any one punish unlawful things in his own diocese. They attribute the cause of this to you, and to the Roman Curia. Things rightly done by them, they say, are overturned by you; things justly destroyed, you re-establish. Whoever are criminal or quarrelsome among either people or clergy, with monks outcast from their monasteries, rush to you; and returning they boast, with passionate gestures, that they have found protectors where they should have found punishers. . . . For shame! the thing moves and will move derisive laughter among the enemies of the Church, those, even, by whose fear or favor you have been led from the right way. Your friends are

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. cexiii. col. 440.

confounded; the faithful are insulted; and the bishops are brought everywhere to opprobrium and contempt, their just judgments being despised, to the damage most of all of your own authority."[1]

To Eugenius Third, a succeeding pontiff, who had been one of his own monastic pupils, Bernard wrote in admonitory words which have the key to his own life in them: "In all thy works remember that thou art but a man, and let the fear of Him who taketh away the breath of princes be continually before thine eyes! Of how many Roman pontiffs hast thou with thine own eyes seen the death, in a brief space of time! Let these thy predecessors admonish thee of thine own most certain soon-coming decease! that the brief time of their domination may declare to thee the fewness of thine own days. Amid the blandishments of the present passing glory, remember thine own recent estate; because those whom thou now followest in the Holy See thou shalt also certainly soon follow in death."[2] Again he wrote to him, more at length, in his tract on Consideration: "Brush aside the deceit of the fugitive honor, despise the glitter of the painted pomp, and think of thyself simply as naked, even as thou camest from the mother's womb! Art thou ornamented with badges, shining with jewels, brilliant in silks, crowned with plumes, stuffed out with golden and silver embroideries? If thou shalt expel from contemplation all these things, so swiftly passing and soon utterly to vanish like morning mists, there will appear to thee a man, naked, poor, needy, miserable, grieving because he is a man, blushing at his nakedness, deploring his birth; a man born to labor, not to honor; born of a woman, and

[1] Vol. prim., epist. clxxviii. col. 398.

[2] Opera, vol. prim., epist. ccxxxviii. col. 503.

so under condemnation; living only a little while, and therefore full of fear; replete with miseries, and weeping because of them."[1] He admonished him that the Church was full of ambitious men, who would be importunate in requests, but that if he were himself to hear any causes brought before him by appeal they must be the cause of the widow, the cause of the poor, and of him who had no bribe to offer;[2] and he set before him, with unswerving and majestic distinctness, the moral image of a true Pope, — writing it, manifestly, with a rush of feeling which made every word a separate force: —

"Remember, first of all, that the holy Roman Church, over which thou art chief, is the mother of churches, not their sovereign mistress; that thou thyself art not the Lord of bishops, but one among them,[3] a brother of those delighting in God, and a partaker with those that fear Him. For the rest, regard thyself as under obligation to be the figure of justice, the mirror of holiness, the exemplar of piety, the restorer of its freedom to truth, the defender of the faith, the teacher of nations, the guide of Christians, the friend of the Bridegroom, the bridesman of the Bride, the regulator of the clergy, the pastor of the people, the master of the foolish, the refuge of the oppressed, the advocate of the poor, the hope of the suffering, the protector of orphans, the judge of widows, eyes to the blind, a tongue to the dumb, the staff of the aged, an avenger of crimes, a terror to evil-doers, and a glory to

[1] Opera, vol. prim., De Consid., ii. 9, col. 1034.

[2] Ibid., col. 1019.

[3] "Consideres ante omnia sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, cui Deo auctor præes, Ecclesiarum matrem esse, non dominam; te vero non dominum episcoporum, sed unum ex ipsis;" etc., col. 1070.

the good, a rod for the powerful, a hammer for tyrants, the father of kings, the director of laws, the superintendent of canons, the salt of the earth, the light of the world, the priest of the Most High, the vicar of Christ, the anointed of the Lord. Remember what I say," he adds, "and the Lord give thee understanding."[1]

It was something, certainly, in that time of confusion, ambition, fear, when pontifical authority had come so widely to overshadow the Continent, to have present a man like this, whose voice must be heard, and who fearlessly presented to pontiffs themselves the duty which belonged to their eminent station. He at any rate repeated before them, with a more sublime emphasis than any music could give, the words which used to be sung at their coronation,— which perhaps are still sung there, while the light flax blazes in a cresset,— "Sic transit gloria mundi!" One cannot but see, too, that Bernard's own ideal of the true Christian spirit and service is vividly expressed in his words. He has outlined himself, however unconsciously, in his letters to the Pope.

But his courage was not shown toward prelates alone, or toward princes and kings. It faced as well, with dauntless composure, the fury of the mob, and was combined with a compassion which only matched its more than knightly intrepidity. One instance will suffice to exhibit this.

It is nearly impossible for us to understand the condition of the Jews in western Europe in the time of Bernard. The religion of the age hated and cursed them, as being the descendants of the murderers of the Lord, who would doubtless gladly repeat the crime if they had opportunity. The wealth which they had

[1] Opera, vol. prim., De Consideratione, lib. iv. coll. 1070–72.

acquired by trading or by usury exposed them to fierce envy, and drew upon them the revengeful passion of those whom they had cheated, or of those whom they surpassed. Despised and outcast as they were, into the Jewish scrip or wallet fortresses had melted. The coarse gabardine often covered wealth for which a hundred ruffians hungered. Their swarthy complexion and Semitic features set them apart from the Gallic and Teutonic peoples; and they might not dwell where others did. The most frightful rumors concerning their crimes found ready acceptance: that they stole Christian children, crucified them privately,[1] and used their entrails for purposes of magic; that they stole the wafers in which the body of Christ was presented, stabbed them with stilettos, boiled them in oil, or slowly though frantically roasted them on coals. The populace was easily stirred against them to a fury which knew no limit of reason. If they fled, that was taken as proof of their guilt. If they remained, they were held guilty of contumacy, and of malignant defiance. No one could intercede for them without incurring hateful suspicions. Even wise and good men, like Peter the Venerable, accused them of getting possession of

[1] Matthew Paris supplies an incidental illustration of what is said above, in mentioning an incident which occurred in London a hundred years later [A.D. 1244]: —

Eodem vero anno, inventum est corpusculum cujusdam pueri masculi inhumatum in cimiterio Sancti Benedicti, in cujus cruribus et brachiis et sub mamillis literis Hebraicis regulariter fuit inscriptum. . . . Credebant etiam, nec sine causa, quod Judæi ipsum puerulum in Jesu Christi improperium et contumeliam, quod frequenter relatum est accidisse, vel crucifixerant vel crucifigendum variis tormentis exagitaverant, et cum jam exspirasset, eum cruci indignum illuc projecisse. . . . Interim quidam Judæorum Londoniensium clandestinam et repentinam fugam inierunt irredituri, qui eo ipso se suspectos merito reddiderunt. — *Chron. Maj.*, vol. iv. p. 377. London ed., 1877.

the sacred vessels of the Church, and applying these to the basest uses; and while he did not recommend that they be killed off-hand, he did advise that they receive punishments commensurate with what he esteemed their offences; that though life be spared, they be plundered of their money.[1]

Especially when the temper which prompted the crusades was sweeping with passionate violence over Europe, it was natural that animosity to the Jews should rise to the very fever-point. 'To kill the enemies of the cross in Palestine? Certainly! But why not, first of all, in our own streets, these greedy, greasy, hook-nosed descendants of the howling mob which carried Christ to his Calvary? Kill *them;* and then the less obnoxious Saracens!' Such was the temper of the time that when Rudolph, a stubborn and sanguinary German monk, declared himself commissioned of the Lord to undertake this home-crusade, and preached along the Rhine "Death to the Jews," he had at once

[1] Si detestandi sunt Sarraceni, quia quamvis Christum de Virgine ut nos natum fateantur, multaque de ipso nobiscum sentiant, tamen Deum Deique Filium (quod majus est) negant, mortemque ipsius ac resurrectionem, in quibus tota summa salutis nostræ est, diffitentur, quantum exsecrandi et odio habendi sunt Judæi, qui nihil prorsus de Christo vel fide Christiana sentientes, ipsum virgeneum partum, cunctaque redemptionis humanæ sacramenta abjiciunt, blasphemant, subsannant? . . . Sentit plane in his quæ non sentiunt sibi sacratis vasis, Judaicas adhuc contumelias Christus, quia, ut sæpe a veracibus viris audivi, eis usibus cœlestia illa vasa ad ejusdem Christi nostrumque dedecus nefandi illi applicant; quod horrendum est cogitare, et detestandum dicere. . . . Reservetur eis vita, auferatur pecunia, ut per dextras Christianorum, adjutas pecuniis blasphemantium Judæorum, expugnetur infidelium audacia Sarracenorum. Serviant populis Christianis, etiam ipsis invitis, divitiæ Judæorum. — *Epist. Pet. Ven.*, lib. iv. xxxvi. [Migne], coll. 367, 368.

The letter was written to Louis, King of France, and closes with the sincere but extraordinary words: "Hæc tibi, benigne rex, scripsi amore Christi," etc.

an enormous following. Thousands, it is said, from Cologne, Mayence, Worms, Strasburg, assembling for the second expedition to Palestine, turned on the Jews their sharpened swords, and slew them in multitudes. It seemed, almost, as if none would be left. The archbishop of Mayence, a humane man, could do nothing effectual to check the fury of the murderous paroxysm, and he turned for help — as nearly everybody did who felt under constraint to do a work at once noble and dangerous — to the Abbot of Clairvaux. That help was not wanting. Bernard wrote to the archbishop in severest condemnation of Rudolph and his course, characterizing him as a man without heart, a man without shame, whose insensate folly was conspicuous to all, who had usurped the function of preaching, despised authority, given license to murder. "The Church triumphs more abundantly over the Jews," he adds, "in every day convincing and converting them, than if it were to give them all on the instant to be consumed by the sword. Wherefore that universal prayer for the unbelieving Jews, offered incessantly in the Church from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, that God would take away the veil from their hearts, and lead them out of darkness into the glorious light of the truth? Unless the Church hopes that they, though now unbelieving, may come to true faith, how superfluous and vain to offer such prayer for them!" The doctrine of Rudolph was not his own doctrine, but that of his Father, the Devil, who had sent him. It was enough for this monk to be like his Master, a murderer and a liar, and the father of lies. "Oh, monstrous doctrine!" he adds. "Oh, what infernal counsel! contrary to prophets, hostile to apostles, practically subversive of all piety and grace! — a sacrilegious har-

lot of a doctrine, impregnated with the very spirit of falsehood, conceiving anguish, and bringing forth iniquity!"[1] Bernard wrote with a rush of indignant severity, because the matter lay near his heart; for he had written already that the Jews were not to be persecuted, nor slain, nor exiled. "They are scattered among all nations," he said, "for this purpose, that while they make just expiation of their sin they may be the witnesses of our redemption." He had stigmatized Christian usurers as worse than the Jewish, if indeed they were to be called Christians at all, and not rather baptized Jews; and he had insisted that it was the part of Christian piety, while conquering the proud to spare the humble, especially those to whom the law had been given, and the promises, whose were the Fathers, and from whom according to the flesh Christ came, who is Blessed forever.[2]

Stern and vehement, however, as was his remonstrance, it did not avail with the truculent Rudolph, or with the ignorant and frantic populations. He therefore went himself to Mayence, met Rudolph, and broke his spirit almost as suddenly and quite as completely as he had broken that of William of Aquitaine. He met the enraged and murderous mob, only more exasperated because Rudolph had now failed to lead it, and scattered that, as a thousand lances could not have done it; and he saved the Jews, as they themselves gratefully recognized, from prolonged and general massacre.[3] Indeed his example, and the energy of his

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. cccLxv., coll. 666–667.

[2] Opera, vol. prim., epist. cccLxiii., coll. 663–664.

[3] See the contemporaneous Hebrew testimony, quoted largely by Ratisbonne, "Hist. de St. Bernard," tom. ii. pp. 176–179. A few sentences from a Hebrew document written at the time, and afterward translated into French, sufficiently illustrate the grateful homage of the Jews to Bernard:

words, distinctly affected the attitude toward the Jews of the Church authorities from that time on, and were always a defence for the persecuted people.

Toward even those of heretical sects, who had departed from the Church, and who were teaching doctrines which to him appeared shameful and baneful, his spirit was compassionate. Their summary execution grievously displeased him. "They are to be overcome," he said, "not with weapons, but with arguments; to be led back to the faith by instruction and persuasion." Only when such means had failed of success might the governing powers resort to force, to prevent the destroying mischief from spreading.[1]

In his personal meditations he tended habitually to contemplate the sufferings of Christ and His persuasive and tender invitations, rather than His lordship and glory. I do not mean, of course, to imply that such

"Ainsi parlait cet homme sage; et sa voix était redoutable: car il était aimé et respecté de tous. Ils l'écoutèrent donc; et le feu de leur colère se refroidit: et ils n'accomplirent pas tout le mal qu'ils voulaient nous faire. Le prêtre Bernard n'avait reçu cependant ni argent ni rançon de la part des Juifs; c'était son cœur qui le portait à les aimer et qui lui suggérait de bonnes paroles pour Israël. Je te bénis, ô Adonaï, mon Dieu; car nous avions allumé ton courroux, et tu nous as pardonné et consolés en suscitant ce juste, sans lequel nul d'entre nous n'aurait conservé sa vie" (p. 179).

[1] Capiantur, dico, non armis, sed argumentis, quibus refellantur errores eorum: ipsi vero, si fieri potest, reconcilientur Catholicæ, revocentur ad veram fidem. Hæc est enim voluntas ejus qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. . . . Itaque homo de Ecclesia exercitatus et doctus, si cum hæretico homine disputare aggreditur, illo intentionem suam dirigere debet, quatenus ita errantem convincat, ut et convertat. Quod si reverti noluerit, nec convictus post primam jam et secundam admonitionem, utpote qui omnino subversus est: erit secundum Apostolum devitandus. Ex hoc jam melius (ut quidem ego arbitror) effugatur, aut etiam religatur, quam sinitur vineas demoliri. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. in Cant., lxiv., col. 3052.

contemplation was peculiar to him among the men of his time, or that it has ever been unfamiliar in Christian experience. But the strong scholastic tendency which in that age was rapidly rising and spreading, and which largely dominated the following centuries, was naturally occupied with abstruse questions, more fascinating sometimes in proportion to their remoteness from practical concerns; and it lacked almost wholly the fine inspiration to affectionate devoutness, and to an heroic consecration of spirit, which came from contemplating the life of the Lord, especially His unsearchable sufferings. On the other hand it was consonant with the temper of the time that the earnest men who were zealously endeavoring to stay the fierce currents of iniquity, and to curb and govern the riotous passions of ambition and lust which had the impulse of centuries behind them, should dwell most largely on the kingship of Christ, and on His office as Judge of the world, not omitting but subordinating that which to human eyes represented His weakness; while on all sides, within the Church, and sometimes in its highest positions, were men as utterly infidel to the Gospel as any succeeding age has shown; who jested at the mysteries which they claimed to celebrate, and who thought, if they did not say, with the accomplished emperor Frederic Second, a hundred years later, when the host was being carried on the street amid prostrate worshippers, "How long shall this imposture continue?"[1]

[1] Matthew Paris shrinks from repeating the words attributed by common fame to the Emperor, but he refers to them in these terms: —

Imponebatur enim ei, quod vacillans in fide catholica dixerit verba ex quibus elici potuit non tantum fidei imbecillitas, quin immo hæresis et blasphemiæ enormitas execranda, . . . et de eucharistia quædam deliramenta protulisse. — *Chronica Majora*, vol. iii. p. 520 [an. 1238]. London ed., 1876.

Bernard was a man keenly sensitive to all subtle and powerful influences in the social atmosphere, but he remained unconquered and almost untouched by those which thus assailed him, because his soul was vitally and constantly centred in Christ, and centred in Him as a suffering yet a glorified Redeemer. A man of quick and discursive intelligence, assiduously engaged in practical work, he saw the Lord in all His offices, and did not hesitate, as we have seen, to invoke the utmost terrors of His judgment against the stubborn resisting will of baron or prince. But there is something beautiful and significant in the reverent regard with which his mind turned spontaneously to the sufferings of Christ. In the fields, under the beloved shade of his oaks, in the arbor where he meditated his sermons, or in his cell, he tells us himself that these were the favorite subject of his thought. Preaching upon Canticles i. 13, "A bundle of myrrh is my Beloved to me," he says, "And I, Brethren, from the outset of my conversion, in place of that abundance of deserts in which I knew myself to be wanting, have been careful to collect this bundle of myrrh, and to lay it upon my breast, gathered from all the anxieties and the bitternesses suffered by my Lord; as first, of the needs of his infant years; then of the labors which he performed in preaching, his fatigues in journeying, his vigils of prayer, his temptations in fasting, his tears of sympathy, the snares laid for him in his speech; finally, of his perils among false brethren, of the revilings, spittings, blows, derisions, the insults and nails, and like bitter things, endured for the salvation of our race, which the Gospel-grove as you know abundantly presents. . . . Such meditations uplift my spirit in adverse times; they moderate it when things are prosperous; and they

offer safe leadership to one trying to walk in the King's highway, between the sorrows and joys of the present life on either hand. . . . Therefore these things are often on my lips, as you know; they are always in my heart, as God knows; they are ever familiar to my pen, as is evident to all; and this is constantly my highest philosophy, to know Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." [1]

So, in another discourse, upon the Passion of Christ, he says: "See now the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath accomplished on the earth! He was beaten with rods, crowned with thorns, bruised with stones, fastened to a cross, filled full with reproaches; yet unmindful of all griefs he says, 'Father, forgive them!' Hence [we understand] the many sufferings of his body, hence the pities of his heart; hence the anguish, hence the compassion; hence the oil of gladness, hence the gouts of blood running down to the ground. . . . O, how great is the multitude of Thy mercies, O Lord! How far removed from our thoughts are Thy thoughts! How enduring is Thy pity, even toward the impious! A marvellous thing, indeed! He cries, 'Forgive them!' while the Jews cry, 'Crucify Him!' His words are softer than oil, while theirs are spears. . . . Oh, Jews! ye are stones; but ye strike a softer stone, from which rings out the response of pity, while the oil of charity gushes from it! How wilt thou, O Lord, make those who delight in Thee to drink of the abundant river of Thy pleasures, since Thou thus pourest the oil of Thy mercy even upon those who crucify Thee!" [2]

There was nothing morbid, and nothing debilitating to the spirit of Bernard, in this frequent meditation on the sufferings of the Lord. On the other hand, it was

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. in Cant., xliii., coll. 2932–2934.

[2] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. de Pass. Dom., coll. 1942–44.

simply exalting and quickening to whatever in him was most heroic. His thought of the Cross illuminated the Gospel, and glorified the Church; and it carried him on, with unfailing inspiration, to and through all magnificent enterprise. Because the Lord had been divinely compassionate, he sought and strove to reproduce in himself this heavenly temper. Because the King of grace and glory had dared and suffered all things for him, he feared no peril, and shrank from no pain, in His supreme service. In general, it may certainly be said of his character that it was marked, quite beyond parallel in his time, by the combination in it of the affectionate and meditative habit, which if left to itself might have made him an absorbed musing mystic, with the intensely practical spirit, which if left to itself would have made his life effective, no doubt, but mechanical, diplomatic. The union of the two gave him his pre-eminence; and they were as subtly interfused in his soul as are heat and light in the solar beam.

Ecstatic contemplation was the employment of many of his hours; when he seemed neither to see nor hear, nor to have the use of any sense; when man was forgotten, and the forms of nature failed to attract him; as when he rode an entire day along the shore of the Lake of Geneva, through the loveliest and grandest sceneries of Europe, and did not know until evening that the lake had been near him.[1] In such hours he meditated on the love of God, of which he wrote to some of his friends in words which show his experience of it.

[1] Juxta lacum etiam Lausanensem totius diei itinere pergens, penitus eum non vidit, aut se videre non vidit. Cum enim vespere facto de eodem lacu socii colloquerentur, interrogabat eos, ubi ille lacus esset; et mirati sunt universi. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 2, col. 2192.

"At first," he says, "man loves himself for his own sake. When he sees that he cannot subsist by himself, he begins by faith to seek after and to love God, as needful to him. So he loves God on a secondary level, for his own sake, not for God's. But when he has thus begun, by reason of his own need, to care for God, and to resort to Him in thought, in study, in prayer, and in obedience, even through an acquaintance of this sort little by little God gradually becomes known to him, and is properly lovely to his thought; and so, having found by tasting how sweet the Lord is, man passes to the third stage, in which he loves God for God's sake, not his own. Upon this level he abides; and I know not whether by any man the fourth stage in this life hath been perfectly reached, in which he shall love himself only for God's sake. If any assert that they have experienced this, I can only confess that for me it seems impossible. But beyond doubt this will come when the good and faithful servant of the Lord shall enter fully into His joy, and be transported at the riches of God's house. As if inebriate with gladness, he shall then in a wonderful way be forgetful of himself, and departing spiritually out of himself he shall wholly ascend to God, and be thenceforth united with Him as one spirit." [1]

In these ecstatic meditations came to Bernard that rejoicing sense, that almost vision, of the Church on High which very often appeared in his discourse. "The land which the soul of the saint inhabits," he says in one of his sermons, "is not a land of forgetfulness, nor a land of labor with which one must be occupied. In a word, it is not earth, but heaven. And will habitation in celestial regions harden the spirits of those whom

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. xi. col. 153.

they receive, or deprive them of memory, or despoil them of affection? Brethren, the amplitude of heaven doth not contract the heart, but dilates it; it exhilarates the mind, does not deprive it of reason; it expands the affections, and does not restrict them. In the light of God, the memory becomes serenely clear, it is not obscured; in the light of God, one learns what he did not know, he does not unlearn what here he knew. Even those superior spirits who have dwelt in heaven from the beginning, do they because inhabiting heaven look with disdain upon the earth? do they not rather visit and frequent it? Does affection fail in their ministry because they see always the face of the Father? Rather, are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to those who have the heirship of salvation? What then? Shall angels go abroad and succor men, and those who are of ourselves be ignorant of us, or not know how to sympathize with us in the things which they themselves have suffered? They who have come out of great tribulation, shall they not recognize those who still continue in it?"[1]

Undoubtedly, in such fond and frequent contemplation of those who had passed from the darkness of earth to be enthroned in the light of heaven lay a certain peril, afterward sadly developed as we think, in minds less closely affiliated with Christ than was Bernard's; the peril of seeking the aid, and the intercessory prayer, of those who had entered within the veil. To Bernard himself this seemed a fit and natural impulse: though Christ was always supreme in his thought as the hearer of prayer, and he chiefly presented the blessed dead as inspiring effort to imitate their virtues, not as offering

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. ii. de S. Victor, coll. 2082–2083.

mediation before God.[1] Thus, in the sermon immediately preceding the one just referred to, he says: "Let us study to be conformed to his manners, whose wonderful experiences we could not rival if we would! Let us emulate the sobriety of life in this man; his devout affection; his gentleness of spirit, his chastity of body, his guardianship of his lips, his purity of mind; putting reins on our anger, and moderation on our speech; sleeping less, praying oftener, communing with one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; joining the nights to the days, and occupying both with Divine worship. Let us emulate him in the best gifts; learning from him what it is to be of a meek and lowly spirit; striving to be as he was, generous to the poor, delightful to his friends, patient toward sinners, benignant toward all. In these things we shall be impressed with the beauty of him by the glory of whose miracles we are simply humbled. The miracles may gladden us, but these things will edify; the others may excite us, but these will nobly set us forward."[2] In his extended and manifold writings one finds few references to the invocation of saints, however aided by ample indexes; and these few have a singularly hesitating tone. "Who knows," he says in a sermon upon the death of a monk, "but he has been taken away that he may be our protector by his prayers before the Father? Would that so it might be."[3] And again he

[1] In the same sermon from which I have quoted, he says: "Eia ergo fortis athleta, dulcis patrone, advocate fidelis, exsurge in adjutorium nobis, ut et nos de nostra ereptione gaudeamus, et tu de plena victoria glorieris. . . . O victor Jesu, te in nostro Victore laudamus, quia te in illo vicisse cognoscimus. Da ei, piissime Jesu, sic de sua in te victoria gloriari, ut non subeat oblivio nostri." col. 2084.

[2] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. i. de St. Victor, col. 2079.

[3] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. de Obit. Humbert. col. 2268.

says that, "because men are afraid of God, and fear to approach him worthily by themselves, therefore they desire others to supplicate for them."[1] It is quite evident, I think, that the reliance on the prayers of the departed, which afterward became so prominent and so enfeebling a force in the experience and worship of the Church, was comparatively unfamiliar to Bernard, in spite of the fact that his thought of those who had gone already to the skies was so constant and vivid that at times he seemed to see them.

The vision of his mother, I have said before, more than once appeared to him. The vision of Christ, and of the Holy Mother of Christ, he also felt that he had had, more than once. Once, when a child, on Christmas eve, having fallen asleep in church while waiting for the service which had been delayed, the Lord appeared to him in his dream as a new-born infant.[2] Once, when grievously sick, the Virgin seemed to come to him personally, to succor and heal.[3] When in great distress of spirit at the ruin which appeared to threaten his new abbey, while pouring out his soul in prayer, he saw the hills round about him full of men, various in dress and in condition, descending toward the valley, till the valley could not contain them.[4] On his way to the council at Étampes, where the choice of the French Church was to be made between rival popes, to which council he had been specially summoned by king and prelates, and to which he was going, as he said him-

[1] Ibid., Ser. xxv. de Divers. col. 2384.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 2, col. 2094.

[3] Ibid., cap. 12, col. 2132.

[4] Subito stans in ipsa oratione, modice interclusis oculis, vidit undique ex vicinis montibus tantam diversi habitus et diversæ conditionis hominum multitudinem in inferiorem vallem descendere, ut vallis ipsa capere non posset. — *Ibid.*, Vita, i. cap. 5, col. 2111.

self, fearful and trembling, he had a vision in the night of an immense church filled with those harmoniously uniting in the praises of God; and he took from it the sure expectation that the peace of the Church was now to be secured.[1] Almost at the close of his life, in peculiarly critical and dangerous circumstances, he had another vision, of himself uniting with distant monks in singing the Gloria in Excelsis, which gave him perfect quietness of mind in the midst of what to others was a scene of portentous fury and gloom.[2]

His spirit at such times, in the height and intensity of its absorbed contemplation, might have seemed in danger of passing the boundary between sanity and delirium; of becoming, at least, essentially unfitted for practical affairs. Yet no dull artisan working at his trade, no soldier in arms, no statesman in council, was more punctual and exact in the performance of daily duty than was this enthusiastic and meditative monk. The zeal for usefulness was a passion with him. He ruled his monastery with firmness and wisdom, while taking part in its humblest labors, and preaching with extraordinary frequency and fervor. He was so practical as to be almost an iconoclast, essentially a Puritan, in regard to Church-art. "The beautiful picture of some saint is exhibited," he said in his letter to William of St. Thierry, "and it is accounted holier in proportion to the brightness of the colors. Men rush to kiss it; they are inspired to gifts; and they admire the beautiful in it, rather than reverence the sacred.

[1] Sicut postea fatebatur, non mediocriter pavidus et tremebundus advenit, periculum quippe et pondus negotii non ignorans. In itinere tamen consolatus est eum Deus, ostendens ei in visu noctis Ecclesiam magnam concorditer in Dei laudibus concinentem; unde speravit pacem sine dubio proventuram. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii., cap. 1, col. 2147.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. v. cap. 1, col. 2252.

There are placed in the churches, not jeweled coronals but vast wheels, set around with torches, but shining hardly less with inserted gems. For candlesticks we see, as it were, great trees erected, of masses of brass, wrought with wonderful labor of the artificer, and glittering not more with the superimposed lamps than with their own jewels. What do you imagine is sought by these things? The contrition of the penitent, or the wonder of beholders? Oh, vanity of vanities! and not more vain than foolish! The Church glistens on all its walls, but the poor are not there! It clothes its stones with gold, but leaves its children to their nakedness. At the expense of the needy, it feasts the eyes of the rich. The curious find what pleases them, but the wretched find nothing to give them succor. Certainly we do not show respect to the images of saints with which the very pavement swarms, that is trodden under foot! Often there is spitting into an angel's mouth, while frequently the face of some saint is being beaten by the shoes of those passing over it. Why at any rate do you decorate what is thus immediately to be defiled? Why paint with color what so soon must be bruised? . . . And what *does* that ridiculous monstrosity accomplish for the brothers reading in the cloister? that extraordinary hideous beauty, and handsome deformity? Why are the filthy apes there? and the savage lions? Why the monstrous centaurs, and the half-human figures? You may see there one body under many heads, or again many bodies with one head. On one side is shown the tail of a serpent on a quadruped; on the other, a quadruped's head on a fish. There is a beast like a horse in the fore-part, and a goat behind; here is a horned animal with the hinder part of a horse. . . . For God's sake, even if one is not ashamed of such

absurdities, why is he not distressed at the cost of them!"[1]

It is quite apparent that the contemplative and visionary temper never overbore the practical in the mind of Bernard. He was ready for any service, however high, however humble; to preach crusades, inspire great assemblies, counsel princes, admonish pontiffs, confront heretics, or to attend to the smallest matters in regulating his monastery; and one of his latest letters, written in A.D. 1152, amid the wonderful sunset radiance which lay upon his closing life, was to the young Count of Champagne about some pigs, which had been entrusted to Bernard's care by a neighbor abbot who had gone to Rome, and which had been stolen by vassals of the count. "I would greatly have preferred," he says, "that they should have stolen my own pigs; and I require them at your hand."[2] He who lived as near to God as did any man of his time, or perhaps of any Christian century, and around whom at times the opening heavens seemed alive with forms and vivid with supernal lustres, was as cool and clear-headed, as patient and persistent in every form of what appeared to him useful activity, as any man who lived in France. Canon Kingsley has spoken of him as having a "hysterical element" in his character.[3] I may not know precisely what was intended by the adjective, but it usually represents something fitful, paroxysmal, essentially convulsive in the habit and temper; and if that were the Canon's meaning I should say there was about as much of it in Bernard as in John Calvin or Julius Cæsar.

[1] Opera, vol. prim., coll. 1243–1244.

[2] Maluissem, dico vobis, ut nostros proprios rapuissent. A vobis requirimus illos. — *Ibid.*, vol. prim., epist. cclxxix. col. 563.

[3] The Roman and the Teuton, p. 241. London ed. 1876.

He was really a wretched invalid during all his public life, not having health enough in a year to suffice an ordinary man for a week. Such had been his early austerities, that he had almost wholly lost the power of distinguishing flavors; drinking oil when it stood near him, in place of water or wine, without knowing the difference; requiring a sort of pious fraud on the part of those ministering to him to make him take what was suitable. His usual food was a bit of bread, moistened with warm water, with very little to drink.[1] The very thought of food was commonly repulsive to him, and what he took seemed only to serve to postpone death, not effectively to nourish life. At one time he had to be wholly retired from the monastery for a year, and constrained, almost by violence on the part of his friends, to live by himself, in a rude hut, under the charge of a rustic empiric whom Bernard regarded as an irrational beast,[2] but who really seems to have done him some good. He did not then recognize any difference in taste between butter and raw blood, and relished nothing except the water which cooled his throat. Yet William of St. Thierry, who visited him there, says that he found him in this mean hut, such as were built for leprous persons along highways, exulting as in the joys of Paradise; that he himself entered it with such reverence as if he were approaching an altar of God; that such was the atmosphere of sweetness pervading the place that if he could have had his choice he would have desired nothing so much as to remain always with the invalid, and serve him. "Thus I found the man of God," he says, "and thus he was dwelling in

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. cap. 1, col. 2190.

[2] Justo Dei judicio irrationali cuidam bestiæ datus sum ad obediendum. —*Ibid.* Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 2, col. 2117.

his own solitude. Yet he was not alone, since God was with him, and the guardianship and comfort of holy angels." William found no difficulty in believing that alternate choirs of heavenly voices were there to be heard; for in the light which proceeded from the hut he seemed to himself to see new heavens and a new earth, the Golden Age returning at Clairvaux.[1]

Bernard had so impressed the monastery with his spirit, that it went on in his absence as if he had been present; and throughout life, amid whatever physical weakness or spiritual raptures, he not only worked himself, with an incessant energy of will which lifted his frail and sickly body into abnormal vigor, but he made all around him work, as well, for what to him were the high aims of life. His regard was equally ready and equally careful for the distant and the near. He planned and wrought as if everything depended on immediate accomplishment. And if, as his disciples believed, the Holy Virgin had appeared to him, attended by saints, in his sore sickness, and with gentle touch had relieved his distress, removed his disease, and checked the fierce flow of saliva from his lips,[2] it was that those lips might freely speak the wisest and most commanding words then heard in Europe.

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 7, coll. 2115–2118.

[2] Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 12, col. 2132. A more extreme form which the legend subsequently took has been immortalized by Murillo in a celebrated picture in the Royal Gallery at Madrid, where the Virgin Mother is represented as appearing to Bernard while seated among his books, and causing milk from her breast to drop upon his lips, not only to heal them but to endow them with celestial eloquence, while cherubs surround her in an effulgence of heavenly glory.

It is said that the same legend is represented on the glass in one of the windows of Lichfield Cathedral. If this be so, the glass is undoubtedly part of that brought to England in the early part of this century from the abbey church of the suppressed Cistercian nunnery at Herekenrode, near Liège. See "Handbook to Cathedrals," London, 1874, p. 323.

There was only one thing which he would not do: he would not accept ecclesiastical office, with its titles and emoluments; and I have spoken to small purpose if it has not already become evident to you that it was as natural to him to be regardless of these things, as it was to be careless of discomfort or danger. His refusal of Church-distinctions seemed astonishing at the time; but he fronted Europe while he lived, as he has fronted it since on the canvasses which present his traditionary portrait, with mitres lying unregarded on his book or at his feet. Langres, Châlons-sur-Marne, as well as Genoa and Pisa, desired him for bishop. Milan vehemently claimed him as the only fit successor to the illustrious Ambrose in its majestic archbishopric. Rheims, the noblest city in France, capital of a great province, was equally eager to place him on its famous and powerful archi-episcopal throne.[1] But nothing could move him. He would live and die the Abbot of Clairvaux. His influence was not limited, however, perhaps indeed it was extended and heightened, by this disdain of official distinction. The secret of that influence is what I have been trying to present, in the man himself, and his almost unique personality.

A lover of nature and of man, tender-hearted and intense, a friend of the poor, and a patient adviser of the humblest of monks, while as fearless before power as the lightning is before the trees which it shivers, enthusiastic and compassionate, ecstatic in contemplation, indefatigable in work, with a firm and fervent faith in God, an adoring love for the Lord who had died, an apprehension — which seemed almost vision — of the realms supernal, and with an extraordinary eloquence in speech, of which I shall try to speak here-

[1] Opera, Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 4, col. 2163.

after, — it could not but be that, whether by labor or by word, he should produce immense effects. Even the unspiritual character of the age was not wholly without advantage to him, since there was something transcending its experience, surpassing expectation, in his peculiar temper and life. He could hardly have stood in sharper contrast, not with fighting barons alone, or unscrupulous kings, but with ambitious princes in the Church, or with those who had been principal in the preceding ages. Even if he were sometimes irritable, perhaps wholly unreasonable, as occasionally he appeared even in his relations with Peter the Venerable,[1] men pardoned much to a man of whom it was commonly known that he could not exercise, eat, or sleep, and seemed only kept alive by the intensity of his spirit; they were only the more amazed at the usual serenity and equanimity of his temper. The very frailness of his body, the beauty which grew more ethereal always, thus assisted his moral power. He seemed hardly more than a palpable spirit, walking the earth on the way to heaven; and the singular supremacy over all physical desire or infirmity which his soul asserted, appeared to the common men of the time absolutely preter-human.

Men thought him almost as truly inspired as Isaiah had been, or as Saint John. It was believed that he could predict events; as when he had warned his brother Gerard that a lance would soon pierce his side, unless he gave himself to the service of religion, as shortly it did;[2] or as when he admonished the king of

[1] Compare, for example, his impetuous letters to the Pope and the cardinals, about the monk of Clugni chosen Bishop of Langres (vol. prim., epist. clxiv.-clxix., coll. 375–384), with the temperate and conciliatory letter of Peter the Venerable to himself, on the same subject. Opera Pet. Ven., lib. i. epist. xxix.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 11, col. 2100.

France that his eldest son, full at the time of life and promise, would die ere long, unless the king turned from certain courses. When the prince did die, by sudden casualty, the words appeared plainly prophetic.[1] Visiting once a town in Languedoc called Viride Folium [or Vert-feuil], where was a castle containing a hundred knights, well-armed and rich, when he was wholly prevented from preaching by the furious clamor raised against him, he said, as he departed from the place, "Thou castle of the green leaves, God shall dry thee up!" The ruin of castle and town which followed, by misfortune and war, and the subsequent poverty of their lord who fled to Toulouse, seemed to give tremendous fulfilment to his words.[2]

It was not doubted that he could work miracles. Humble as he was before God, he thought himself that such had been wrought through him,[3] and was sometimes perplexed and disturbed because of them. "I greatly marvel," he said to his brethren after extraordinary things had occurred at Toulouse, "what these miracles may mean, or why it should be seen that God works them by such an one as I am! For I do not seem to have read on the sacred pages of any signs sur-

[1] Opera, Vita, i. lib. iv. cap. 2, col. 2220.

[2] "Il partit, et reportant ses regards vers la ville, il la maudit, en disant; Vert-feuil, que Dieu te dessèche! Il annonçait cela sur de manifestes indices, car en ce temps, ainsi que le rapporte un vieux récit, il y avait dans ce château cent chevaliers à demeure, ayant armes, bannières, et chevaux, et s' entretenant à leurs propres frais, non aux frais d'autrui; lesquels, dès ce moment, furent affaiblis chaque année par la misère comme par les gens de guerre, si bien que la grêle fréquente, la stérilité, la guerre ou la sédition ne leur laissèrent plus un moment de repos." Quoted by Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. pp. 469–470, note.

[3] See, e. g., epist. ccxlii. (ad Tolosanos), vol. prim., coll. 508–510: "Veritate nimirum per nos manifestata, manifestata autem non solum in sermone, sed etiam in virtute," etc.

...kind. Of course, wonders have ...
...holy and perfect men, and als...
...confessions neither of holiness n...
...that it is not mine to equal the n...
...have been illustrated by mir...
...belong to the class of those ...
...seekers in the name of God ...
...He conferred, privately, ...
...that the wonders might sig...
...to himself to have found a...
...," he said, "that signs of this ...
...holiness of the one, but th...
...that God does not look so mu...
...man by whom He works ...
...mined about him, that He ...
...holiness believed to belo...
...These things are not done fo...
...whom they are done, but fo...
...them or know of them. ...
...ers by any to the end tha...
...than others, but that others ...
...and seekers of His hol...
...personal to myself; si...
...ed by the reputation ...
...them by my life; they ar...
...but admonition to oth...
...spoke not unnaturally ...
...marvellous as any o...
...Divine affection and t...
...steps, not less difficult, ...
...than to try to penetrat...
...and unaccountable wor...
...given to human testimony ...

...lib. iii. cap. 7, col. 2204.

nished by those who claimed to have been eye-witnesses of the facts, it cannot be doubted that a most extraordinary force operated through him on those who sought his ever-ready assistance. Much, no doubt, may be fairly attributed to his unique and impressive personality, and to the immense effect which it produced on those who received him as a messenger from God. Much is also, no doubt, to be ascribed to the credulous, unintelligent, and uncritical character of the times around him, when whole peoples were in a condition of moral childhood, especially sensitive to words of high moral command. For myself, I easily lay aside the many miracles related of him in monkish legends after his death, with those which particularly concerned the treatment of nervous diseases, or even of semi-delirious conditions. But when it is asserted by contemporaries that fevers were cured, or ulcers removed, by his presence, his word, his touch; when it is affirmed by Godfrey his secretary, himself afterward abbot of Clairvaux, that he had personally seen the deaf made to hear, the blind to see, and the paralyzed to walk,[1] I do not know what better to do than to accept the words of Neander concerning such marvels: that "when they appear in connection with a governing Christian temper, actuated by the spirit of love, they may perhaps be properly regarded as solitary workings of that higher

[1] Evidenter enim verbum hoc prædicavit, Domino co-operante, et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis. Sed quantis, et quam multiplicibus signis? Quanta vel numerare, nedum narrare difficile foret. Nam et eodem tempore scribi cœperant, sed ipsa demum scriptorem numerositas scribendorum, et materia superavit auctorem. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. cap. 4, col. 2196.

Et cum dici soleat nihil esse facilius dicto; huic tamen Dei famulo per gratiam quam acceperat, signa facere magis facile videbatur, quam nobis facta narrare. — *Ibid.*, Vita, i. lib. iv. cap. 8, col. 2244.

power of life, which Christ introduced into human nature."[1] Certainly, the general mind of Europe, though not altogether without dissent, accepted them as miracles. Bernard never claimed any authority derived from them, over men's faith or conduct, but others instinctively attributed such authority to him; and it is not extravagant to say that if any one had declared him to be the Lord, returned for a season to the earth which He had left, multitudes would have accepted the word with a passionate enthusiasm which the great abbot would only have recognized as insane blasphemy, but which even he could hardly have restrained.

He seems not to have been elated by any effect produced by him upon either the bodies or souls of men. He always wrote and spoke of himself with that beautiful humility which was recognized by his companions as among the chief and the loveliest of his traits, even at the time when, as Baronius says, he "was the ornament and support of the whole Catholic Church, and pre-eminently the honor, glory, and joy of the Church in France;"[2] when men familiarly spoke of him as more the pope than was the pontiff, and therefore committed to him their affairs;[3] when, as Milman has accurately said, he was "at once the leading and the governing head of Christendom."[4] As one of his early biographers said of him, "The humility of his heart surpassed the majesty of his fame."[5] When receiving the profuse honors and adulation of princes or of peoples he did not

[1] Hist. of Church, vol. iv. p. 257.

[2] Eccles. Annal., tom. xix. p. 73; ed. Lucæ.

[3] Aiunt non vos esse Papam, sed me; et undique ad me confluunt, qui habent negotia. — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. ccxxxix. col. 503 [to Eugenius]

[4] Hist. of Lat. Christ., vol. iv. p. 155. New York ed. 1861.

[5] Vita, ii. cap. 17, col. 2440: Vincebat tamen sublimitatem nominis humilitas cordis.

seem to himself to be Bernard, but some one else substituted for him, only recognizing himself in his proper personality when he resumed familiar talk with the humbler of his brethren.[1] To the end of his life, his sense of the want of all merit in himself was as keen and deep as when in his youth he had sought the Lord. One of the last letters, if not the very last, dictated by him, — when sleep had wholly forsaken him, when he could take no nourishment, when his feet and limbs were painfully swollen, but while his mind continued alert as ever, — was to his friend the Abbot of Bonneval, and contained the touching words: "Pray to the Saviour, who wills not the death of any sinner, that He will not delay my now seasonable departure from the earth, but that He will protect it. Be solicitous to defend by your prayers one at the extremity of life, who is destitute of all merits; that he who plots insidiously against us may not find where he may inflict any wound. In my present condition I have dictated these words, that you may know my heart."[2]

But while thus recognizing no desert in himself he was ready, even anxious, to depart and be with Christ. When the prayers of the monks on his behalf had produced as it seemed a partial recovery, he said: "Why do you detain a miserable man? You are the stronger, and prevail against me. Spare me! Spare me! I be-

[1] Summus reputabatur ab omnibus, infimum ipse se reputans: et quem sibi omnes, ipse se nemini præferebat. Denique, sicut nobis sæpius fatebatur, inter summos quosque honores et favores populorum, vel sublimium personarum, alterum sibi mutuatus hominem videbatur, seque potius reputabat absentem, velut quoddam somnium suspicatus. Ubi vero simpliciores ei fratres, ut assolet, fiducialius loquerentur, et amica semper liceret humilitate frui; ibi se invenisse gaudebat, et in propriam rediisse personam. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. cap. 7, col. 2206.

[2] Ibid., vol. prim., epist. cccx. coll. 594–595.

seech you, and permit me to depart!"[1] When they crowded around his dying bed, exclaiming with tears and moans, 'Wilt thou not pity us, our Father? wilt thou not compassionate those whom thou hitherto hast nourished in thy love?' weeping, as the narrator says, with them that wept, and lifting to heaven his dove-like eyes, he answered that he was pressed between two, not knowing whether to choose to tarry with them or to go to Christ; and he left it all to the will of God. It was his last word, for with it he died. "Happy transition!" says one of those who stood beside his bed, "from labor to rest, from hope to reward, from combat to crown, from death to life, from faith to knowledge, from the far wandering to the native home, from the world to the Father!"[2]

The life on earth was ended thus, at about nine o'clock in the morning, on the twentieth of August, A.D. 1153. It had continued sixty-two years.

Ladies, and Gentlemen: I think of this man as I have so imperfectly described him, and of the work accomplished by him, which I hope also in a measure to set forth in subsequent lectures; I see the extraordinary power which he with incessant zeal exerted for what to him were noblest ends, in a century full of ignorance and sin, of cruel strife and reckless ambition, yet for which other ages had made preparation, and from which went large influence forward to the following time; and then I trace him back to the childhood-years in his father's castle, and think of the saintly mother, Aletta, who bore him and trained him, and gave him utterly to God, and who in the eagerness of her impas-

[1] Opera, Vita, i. lib. v. cap. 3, col. 2263.

[2] Ibid., Vita, i. lib. v. cap. 2, coll. 2258–2260.

sioned devotion sought to infuse the mother's spirit with mother's milk into his veins,— and I see, with mingled admiration and awe, that that devout woman, who died in Burgundy almost eight hundred years ago, has modified since the world's civilization; that the touch of her spirit, ethereal and immortal, is on your hearts and mine to-night!

LECTURE IV.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: IN HIS MONASTIC LIFE.

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No institution exists for centuries, and continues to attract the reverent regard of many of the best and most cultured of the time, which has not a foundation in wide and wholesome human tendencies, or which does not minister, more or less successfully, to recognized moral needs of mankind. It may be that something else will come, after a time, to take the place and fulfil the office for which at last it is found unsuited. But while it continues, and where it continues, it may safely be assumed that men had found reason to desire and value it, and that they received distinct benefits from it. The ark described in the Biblical story could not do the work of a swift modern steamship; but in its time, according to the narrative, it had its use and served its purpose, by saving the race from the whelming flood.

Something of this general tenor may be said, I am sure, of that system of monastic life which had begun in the East, but which prevailed in Europe so largely and so long, and which still retains a definite place where once it had general prominence. It has been, perhaps, a common impression with Protestant peoples that the system operated only disastrously upon those who main-

tained it, especially upon those whom it gathered into convents, and whose mind and character it immediately affected; that it absorbed into itself forces which should have been generously devoted to public advancement; and that it wrought with constant tendency, not so much to educate or uplift the spirit as to pervert and demoralize it, in the men and women assembled in its homes,— making them selfish, sour, fanatical, disdainful of enterprise and of domesticity, too often inciting them to a destroying sensual indulgence. Undoubtedly there are facts in both the earlier and the later history of the system to suggest this impression, if not wholly to sustain it; like those which were appealed to in the time of Henry Eighth, to justify his suppression of the monasteries,— a suppression which would hardly have been possible, even for kingly power, in the midst of communities prevailingly Roman Catholic, if a popular belief in the moral decadence of the suspended institutions had not made the way easy;[1] or like those facts which are philosophically grouped by Mr. Lecky, in his "History of European Morals."[2] I am certainly

[1] See "Camden Society Publications," vol. xxvi., on "Suppression of Monasteries;" also Strype's "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. i. chap. 9; Fuller, "Church History," book vi. sec. 3. A sufficient account of the matter is given by Froude, in his "History of England," vol. ii. pp. 396–435.

The "Black Book" presented by the Commissioners to Parliament is said not now to be in existence, but the contents of it are substantially known. In the preceding reign the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Merton, had instituted a similar visitation of monasteries in the neighborhood of London, and the description there given of the Abbey of St. Albans is said to represent all the evils which were subsequently discovered.

Erasmus certainly knew the monks well, having been one of them; and in the "Praise of Folly," the "Colloquies," the "Adagia," he indicates frequently and clearly the lazy vices by which his conservative scholarly mind was sharply offended.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 107–153. New York ed. 1876.

not here to defend the system against any charges for which proof may be supplied; least of all, to advocate any re-establishment of it, in our land or in others. On the other hand, I gladly see that the influences of the modern civilization work constantly against it, and that wherever it still exists its existence is almost like that of an iceberg which has floated down from the original glacier, and which, however it still may tower above the level expanse of waters, is being silently consumed by the warm and swift currents which envelop its base. However it may check, it cannot change those dissolving tides.

But we are not now to regard the plan of monastic life in its relation to modern times, or in the fruits which it showed when the ripeness of the system had turned to rottenness. We are to look at it in its particular relation to the times of Bernard, and to the desire which such as he felt for something to minister to the high aspiration of an eager and a profound spiritual mind. So regarding it, we shall see, I think, why it was that it flourished so long and extended so far; and how it was that with his character, amid the circumstances in which he was placed, he was so strongly attracted and attached to it.

If only in justice to him, its long and its often splendid history in the centuries preceding his should be recalled by us, and the powerful moral impulse which early and widely prompted to it should be distinctly before our view. Let us not forget, then, that the tendency toward a solitary life, detached from affairs, and largely passed in ascetic exercise, in prayer and contemplation, had appeared in the world, and in heathen societies, before Christianity began to be preached. In the time of the Master it was clearly exhibited among

the Hebrews, in the sect of the Essenes. But it had shown itself ages before, in Egypt and in India, in central Asia and in China. It is not impossible that India was the birth-place of monachism.[1] Certainly both its great religions were penetrated to the centre by this spirit, and the laws of Menu are occupied to an important extent with regulations concerning the ascetic life. The Buddhist monasteries of to-day present a parallel so strangely close to those existing in Roman Catholic countries that travellers find it hard to believe that the one system or the other has not borrowed from its counterpart. Astonished Romanists have sometimes suspected that the Buddhist monasteries, in Thibet or Tartary, for example, had been anticipative diabolical counterfeits of the Christian institutions which were later to appear.[2] A resemblance so close, continuing

[1] Hardwick, Christ and Other Masters, p. 245. London ed. 1882.

[2] The Abbé Huc was amazed at the resemblances between the ceremonial of his own church and that of Buddhism, though he sought to explain them by the hypothesis that the Buddhists must have borrowed from the Catholics.

"The cross, the mitre, the dalmatica, the cope, which the Grand Lamas wear on their journeys, or when they are performing some ceremony out of the temple; the service with double choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms; the censer suspended from five chains, and which you can open or close at pleasure; the benedictions given by the Lamas by extending the right hand over the heads of the faithful; the chaplet, ecclesiastical celibacy, spiritual retirement, the worship of the saints, the fasts, the processions, the litanies, the holy water, — all these are analogies between the Buddhists and ourselves. Can it be said that these analogies are of Christian origin? We think so." Yet he admits that neither in the monuments of the country, nor in its traditions, has he found any proof of their importation, — that the theory rests upon conjecture only. — *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China*, p. 322. London ed., 1856.

To the list given by Huc many other striking particulars may be added, according to the testimony of observant travellers; for example, the tonsure of priests, rosaries of coral and amber, the lighted lamps in churches, pictures and images, especially of the "Queen of Heaven" with a child in

so long, between institutions so widely separated, and belonging to religions in such contrast with each other, is one of the remarkable facts in history; and it shows, as I think, a strong and constant moral tendency in the spiritual nature of man, when deeply stirred and conscientiously impressed, toward those forms of activity which the convent offers. There must be something there for which the heart hungers, in certain moods, with a desire that cannot or could not be elsewhere satisfied.

Very early after Christianity was preached these tendencies appeared, as we know, on different sides, and with vast power. There had long been congregations of monks connected with certain Egyptian temples; and when Paul of Thebes, "the first hermit," with Saint Anthony appeared there, in the latter part of the third century, the Coptic atmosphere already favored them, and their example was rapidly followed. A century later Sozomen says that the disciples of Anthony were not only in Egypt, but in Palestine, — where they had been introduced by Hilarion, — in Syria, Arabia, and North Africa. He speaks of one ascetic leader having three thousand disciples; of another who had a thousand; of two thousand monks in the neighborhood of Alexandria; of fifty convents in the district of Nitria.[1] The mountains and the deserts appear to have been full of them: and it is probably not an ex-

her arms, extreme unction, prayers for the dead, fasts and penances, confession to priests, the consecration of bishops, a general hierarchy, etc., etc.

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[1] Eccl. Hist. lib. i. cap. 13; lib. vi. caps. 28, 29, 31.

travagant computation which reckons that at the end of the fourth century, or early in the fifth, there were of all classes of monks nearly or quite one hundred thousand in Egypt alone; of whose courage, patience, humility, charity, as well as of their silence, their abstinence from food, and their persistent aversion to baths, the most surprising stories were current.

The early anchorets, living in solitude, after a while gave place to the cenobites, seeking the same ends, but dwelling in communities. Jerome, Athanasius, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, grandest of preachers and a true hero and martyr, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, with other eminent leaders in the Church, became the eloquent advocates of the system. It was introduced into Italy, probably by Athanasius, at about the middle of the fourth century, and was speedily established in the capital and its neighborhood, and throughout the peninsula. Augustine and Ambrose became its advocates. Martin of Tours introduced it into Gaul. It appeared ere long in Burgundy, in Spain, along the banks of the Danube, in the valleys of Wales, and in Ireland. The wealthy and the famous as well as the poor were enrolled in the monasteries; and early in the sixth century the rule of Benedict was formulated for his great convent of Monte Cassino, which rule became afterward a governing law for distributed local convents, and a bond of union among them.

With the practical organizing genius of the West thus moulding the system, restraining the abuses which were already connected with it, and aiding to secure its higher ends, it took more rapid and extensive development, and became an immense power in Europe. Some of the monasteries matured into great mis-

sionary centres: others were early recognized as homes of knowledge and literature, and others still of practical arts. Those at the head of them were often celebrated men, having vast influence in their hands. Princes and kings were gladly numbered among the lay brothers. Some of them, indeed, fully entered the convents; and men of the highest rank and repute were found serving faithfully in kitchen or mill, cutting faggots, gathering crops, or delighting to drive the pigs to the field.[1] William First, Duke of Normandy, had desired to leave everything of the world, and to retire to the Abbey of Jumièges, but the abbot would not permit it. Hugh First of Burgundy had eagerly done the same thing at Clugni, as I have before said. Henry Second, Emperor of Germany, at the Abbey church of St. Anne, at Verdun, had cried with the Psalmist, "This is the rest which I have chosen, and shall be my habitation forever." A monk who heard it apprised the abbot, who thereupon called the emperor before him and asked his intentions. Finding him determined to become a monk, the abbot took from him a promise of obedience unto death, according to the rule of the order, and then said, "Well, I receive you as a monk, and take the care of your soul from this day forward; what I order I charge you to perform, in the fear of the Lord. Now return to the government of the empire which the Lord has entrusted to you, and watch with fear and trembling, with all your might, over the welfare of the kingdom." The

[1] "Quanto nobiliores erant in sæculo, tanto se contemtibilioribus officiis occupari desiderant, ut qui quondam erant comites vel marchiones in sæculo nunc in coquina, vel pistrino fratribus servire, vel porcos eorum in campo pascere, pro summis deliciis computent." [An. 1083.] See Neander, Hist. of the Church, vol. iv. p. 233, note.

emperor obeyed with regret, as being bound by his vow; he lived thereafter a truly monastic life on the throne, and was subsequently honored by the Church as a saint.[1] Down to the time of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the monastic establishments both for men and for women continued numerous and powerful, though many certainly had fearfully fallen from the early ideal, and some had become unspeakably corrupt. They have never since regained their attractiveness for the best minds; and with the changed conditions of society it is quite certain that they will not. But that for centuries they had such place and power in the world is a significant and memorable fact, which we may not forget in studying the personal career of Bernard.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, when his active life commenced, these monastic institutions were rising to the height of their usefulness and their fame. The vow of celibacy detached men from the more intimate relationships of life; the vow of poverty made worldly possessions unlawful to them; the vow of obedience had a tendency at least to conquer self-will, and to form the habit of submitting the life to a common and careful ethical regulation. Whoever, then, desired to have the soul infused and pervaded by the Divine life, was naturally allured to these retreats. Whoever would have the spiritual sensibility stimulated and trained, till visions became familiar, till the line of horizon between life on earth and life on high became impalpable to the bright expectation, till the soul amid the circles of time felt itself already affined to eternity, was drawn to the convent, to climb with others the steep path of celestial virtue. With such came, too, those who desired a fairer knowledge of human things, or

[1] Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. pp. 139, 140.

who only sought for a tranquil and an orderly life amid the tumultuous turmoil of the times, wishing to find such friendly association with others of their kind as there seemed no room for anywhere else. With these came also, and in large numbers, the weak, the poor, the timid, and the persecuted, who sought safe refuge among the monks. The convent confronted the feudal castle, and it sheltered those whom the other despoiled. Noble women entered nunneries to protect their chastity; as the Princess Matilda, afterward wife of Henry First of England, known in history as "the good queen Maude," entered the nunnery at Romsey in her youth to escape the licentious pursuit of Norman nobles.[1]

There had been a vast revival of the spirit, and a restoration of the stricter forms, of monastic life in the preceding century. It had felt, of course, the powerful impulse given to all Church development by Gregory Seventh. New orders of monks had been established, old institutions had come to fresh prominence and were breaking forth into new exhibitions of zeal and fervor. Great memories consecrated some of the abbeys. The monks had been largely the civilizers of Europe. Accustomed to labor, inured to hardship, contemptuous of death, living in caves or birchen huts, with patient and undaunted toil they had widely subdued the savage country, covered with forests, stained with great tracts of desert land, sterile with bogs and drowned with swamps, where the elk and the buffalo, the bear and the wolf, were not so fierce as the savage men who roamed and fought beneath the shades. More than once the monastery had become the nucleus of the city. It was the centre of civilized industry, as well as the

[1] Matilda to Anselm (Eadmer, "Hist. Novor." lib. iii.): "Servandi corporis mei causa contra furentem Normanorum libidinem."

symbol of moral aspiration, in an age of general confusion and strife. It had maintained the unending struggle against cruelty in high places, and had borne aloft the Christian doctrine that society is bound to protect the weak. It exalted before men the solemn thought of their relation to each other, through their common relation to God and the Hereafter; and so it contributed, with an essential and an inestimable force, to ennoble society.

Inspiriting legends gave their lustre to some of the abbeys, coming from the spring-time of monastic life upon the rugged and battle-swept Gaul: of Launomar, whose voice had stopped wolves in their course, and delivered their prey; of Saint Léonor, to whom, in his urgent need of grain, a little white bird had brought grains of wheat, showing him where it had been planted; of Saint Imier, who had heard at midnight in his lonely hermitage the future bells of his monastery ringing, and had followed the mysterious signal to the fountain in the Jura which still keeps his name; of Théodulph of Saint Thierry, of illustrious birth, who had been ploughman for his monastery for twenty years, and whose rude plough, after he became abbot, had been hung in the church of a neighboring village as a sacred memorial.[1]

In Burgundy particularly, in Bernard's time, the monastic establishments were multiplying in number, and had peculiar favor with the people. The abbey of St. Benignus at Dijon, whose abbot proposed the oath to the Duke on his accession, giving him also the robe and ring and ducal crown, and that of Clugni, near Mâcon, were the most conspicuous. That of Citeaux,

[1] For these and other legends, see Montalembert's "Monks of the West," lib. vi., especially vol. ii. pp. 350, 324, 368, 378, et al.

near Châlons, a dozen miles from Dijon, was at this time poor and undistinguished; but so many offshoots subsequently sprang from it that a few centuries later the abbot of Citeaux was recognized as their superior by more than three thousand affiliated monasteries, in various countries.[1] In the childhood of Bernard the Duke of Burgundy, the feudal lord of the family, had prayed in the oratory of the then mean and obscure monastery, and had built for himself a house near it; and when he died, far from home, on a journey to Jerusalem, his last wish had been that his body might be brought thither, and laid to rest in its common place of sleep. There, therefore, his dust reposed, while the thunders of war resounded in the land, and the monks in their seclusion prayed for the soul of their dead benefactor.

When Bernard, after the death of his mother, had decisively turned from every other career, — of arms, of courts, of letters, or of Church-preferment, — to enter the distinctively religious life, he turned naturally, with a really irresistible impulse, toward the convent and its austere regulation; and with his intense moral earnestness he turned to that form of cloister-life which was most signally strict and severe, in sharpest contrast not only with the world and its ambitions, but with the offensive secular temper prevailing widely throughout the Church. Drawing around him, in the enthusiasm of a common purpose, not only his brothers and other relatives, as I have said, but others whom he had known and over whom his spirit had power, — the cultivated and noble as well as the humbler, — he went on to prepare

[1] Son abbé, l'abbé des abbés, était reconnu pour chef d'ordre, en 1491, par trois mille deux cent cinquante-deux monastères. — MICHELET, *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 93.

himself and them for monastic life. His moving eloquence, and his singular ascendency over men's minds, were as evident at first as perhaps they ever were afterward. A flash of conviction struck many souls, we are told, as he spoke of the fugitive joys of the world, of the many miseries of life on earth, of quick-coming death, and of the life beyond the grave, which, whether for the good or the evil, should be eternal. The high-born and the accomplished heard him, as well as those of the commoner sort, with new emotions stirring in their hearts; and so startling was the impression of his discourses that mothers withdrew their sons from his reach, wives kept their husbands from hearing him, and friends diverted the attention of their friends, lest the too persuasive voice should carry them with him in spite of all counter-attractions.[1] Retiring after a little, with the group of his devoted companions, to Châtillon, where before he had pursued secular studies, Bernard determined to put to the test the sincerity and steadiness of their purpose, and of his own, and to finish there the preparation for final entrance into the convent. After six months had so been passed, and all their business relations in the world had been closed,[2]

[1] Cœpit novum induere hominem, et cum quibus de literis sæculi, seu de sæculo ipso agere solebat, de seriis et conversione tractare; ostendens gaudia mundi fugitiva, vitæ miserias, celerem mortem, vitam post mortem, seu in bonis, seu in malis, perpetuam fore. Quid multa? Quotquot ad hoc præordinati erant, operante in eis gratia Dei, et verbo virtutis ejus, et oratione et instantia servi ejus, primo cunctati, deinde compuncti, alter post alterum credebant et consentiebant. . . . Jamque eo publice et privatim prædicante, matres filios abscondebant, uxores detinebant maritos, amici amicos avertebant: quia voci ejus Spiritus sanctus tantæ dabat vocem virtutis, ut vix aliquis aliquem teneret affectus. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. cap. iii. coll. 2101–2102.

[2] Ipsi vero quasi mensibus sex post primum propositum in sæculari habitu stabant, ut proinde plures congregarentur, dum quorumdam negotia per id temporis expediebantur. — *Ibid.*, Vita, i. cap. 3, col. 2103.

they applied for admission and were received at the monastery of Citeaux, the company numbering more than thirty, and its animating leader being but twenty-two years of age.

In all external things the convent at Citeaux was at that time far less attractive than the great and famous abbey of Clugni, not remote from it. That wealthy and venerable establishment, founded already for two centuries, was the greatest of the Burgundian abbeys, and had a repute in Europe second only to that of the monastery established by Benedict himself on Monte Cassino. Hildebrand, as I have said, had gone from it on his way to the papacy; so had Urban Second, Paschal Second, among his successors. It could entertain a pope, a king, princes, with their suites of attendants, without inconvenience.[1] Its abbot was really a prince in the realm, and had the power of coining money to be used in his domains. Soon after this, he became by favor of the Pope, Calixtus Second, a permanent prince cardinal in the Church, and was endowed with other exceptional privileges. Several of the distinguished Cluniac abbots had been canonized; and the institution seemed only approaching at that time the extraordinary height of its power and fame. Its magnificent Abbey-church, which had been begun A.D. 1089, and which was consecrated by Innocent Second, A.D. 1131, was then, of course, far on the way toward that completion which made it subsequently the vastest church ever built in France, covering seventy thousand square feet, while also the most distinguished for its

[1] Telle était la splendeur de ces monastères, que Cluny reçut une fois le pape, le roi de France, et je ne sais combien de princes avec leur suite, sans que les moines se dérangeassent. — MICHELET: *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 92.

massive magnificence.[1] When at last this church, after standing seven hundred years, became the prey of a frantic revolutionary violence, it took years to destroy it; and when the great tower was finally overthrown, in A.D. 1811, within the memory of living men, the neighboring country heard and felt the tremendous shock.

To this abbey, rich and renowned, opening an easy way to the highest Church-dignities, and in which a liberal interpretation of the rule of Benedict was familiar, Bernard and his companions might have gone, to be at once welcomed and honored. He chose instead of it the recent, weak, and uninviting monastery of Citeaux, only founded when he was a lad of seven years [A.D. 1098], but already languishing in its youth by reason of the exceptional strictness of its regimen. Few converts were allured to a discipline so severe. The number of the monks constantly decreased; a fatal disease had recently sadly thinned their number, and it seemed as if the existence of the convent was approaching its end.[2] But to this comparatively bare, bleak, and desolate establishment, with the shadow of death hanging over it, Bernard drew his companions with him; and into it they were solemnly received, at first for the year of their novitiate, and afterward on their final profession.

[1] See Fergusson's "Handbook of Architecture," pp. 651, 652. London ed. 1859.

[2] Eo tempore novellus et pusillus grex Cisterciencis sub abbate degens, viro venerabili Stephano, cum jam graviter ei tædio esse inciperet paucitas sua, et omnis spes posteritatis decideret, in quam sanctæ illius paupertatis hæreditas transfunderetur, venerantibus omnibus in eis vitæ sanctitatem, sed refugientibus austeritatem; repente divina hac visitatione tam læta, tam insperata, tam subita lætificatus est, ut in die illa responsum hoc a Spiritu sancto accepisse sibi domus illa videretur: "Lætare, sterilis quæ non pariebas," etc. — *Opera*, Vita, i. cap. 3, col. 2104.

Here he found all that could be desired in the way of an austere regulation of life. It was a reformed and a Puritan monastery. It is reported, I believe, of Horace Walpole, that when asked why he did not become a Roman Catholic, his reply was that "it would give him too much to swallow, and too little to eat." The monks at Citeaux felt neither difficulty. The less they ate, and the more they absorbed of what to them was Divine doctrine, the more nearly they felt themselves fulfilling their purpose, and approaching the heavens. One meal a day, usually at about noon, without meat, fish, or eggs, commonly without milk, with a slight supper of fruit or herbs; an utter poverty of dress, such as had been common in imperial days for the Italian serf working on farms, from whom indeed it had been copied; nothing except assiduous labor to interrupt the succession of prayer, song, meditation, reading, writing, prayer, which began with matins at earliest morning, and ended with compline, at eight or after on the following evening, — this was the rule of life at Citeaux; sufficiently exacting and rigorous, it would seem, to satisfy any possible wish for release from luxury, and severance from the world.

Yet even this austere rule did not wholly content Bernard. All time given to sleep he regarded as wasted, counting the sleeping as for the time practically dead; and though he was not able to pass the entire night in wakefulness, he certainly came as near it as is possible to man.[1] Through his excessive ab-

[1] Quid enim dicam de somno, qui in cæteris hominibus solet esse refectio laborum et sensuum, aut mentium recreatio? Extunc usque hodie vigilat ultra possibilitatem humanam. Nullum enim tempus magis se perdere conqueri solet, quam quo dormit, idoneam satis reputans comparationem mortis et somni: ut sic dormientes videantur mortui apud

stinence from food he lost all relish for it, almost all power of assimilating it, and made himself the infirm invalid that he continued to be through life. When he could not, by reason of physical feebleness, do the common work of the monastery, he took the most menial offices upon him, to make up for the lack of more vigorous service.[1] In all physical self-discipline his aim was not merely to conquer the desires of the flesh but the senses themselves, through which desire might be awakened; practically, to "keep under the body" by suspending its functions. Naturally, therefore, he came after a time into that state of mind, — abstracted, pre-occupied, unrelated to sensible things, almost vitally detached from the body, — in which seeing he saw not, hearing he heard not; three windows in the room were the same to him as one, and of anything external which happened to him his memory retained no impression.[2] But prayer and meditation were his solace and support, while nature retained, as I have said, her fine and animating charm for his soul.

At the end of a year he made his final profession as a monk, in the customary solemn service; and little more than a year after, A.D. 1115, he was himself sent out as

homines, quomodo apud Deum mortui dormientes. . . . Quantum enim ad vigilias, vigiliarum ei modus est non totam noctem ducere insomnem. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. cap. 4, col. 2107.

[1] Fodiendo, seu ligna cædendo, propriis humeris deportando, vel quibuslibet laboribus æque laboriosis illud redimebat. Ubi vero vires deficiebant, ad viliora quæque opera confugiens, laborem humilitate compensabat. — *Opera*, Vita, i. cap. 4, col. 2108.

[2] In nullo sibi parcens, instabat omnimodis mortificare non solum concupiscentias carnis, quæ per sensus corporis fiunt, sed et sensus ipsos per quos fiunt. . . . Totusque absorptus in spiritum, spe tota in Deum directa, intentione seu meditatione spirituali tota occupata memoria, videns non videbat, audiens non audiebat; nihil sapiebat gustanti, vix aliquid sensu aliquo corporis sentiebat. — *Opera*, Vita, i. cap. 4, col. 2106.

abbot, at the age of twenty-four, with twelve monks in his company, to found a new monastery. His coming with many companions to Citeaux had given vast impulse to that then weak and wasted establishment. More applicants had been drawn to it than it could accommodate, and two colonies had already been sent forth: one to establish the abbey of Ferté, near Châlons; another, under Hugh of Mâcon, an early friend of Bernard, to found an abbey at Pontigny. Now went the third, with himself for their young leader. The twelve represented the twelve Apostles, while Bernard at the head, bearing the cross, and leading in a solemn chant, was to them in the place of the Master. It strikingly illustrates the impression made upon his associates by his fine and strong qualities, with his power of leadership, and the perfect confidence which all reposed in him, that at so early an age he should have been decisively set apart for an office and a work so important and so difficult. But certainly the result justified the selection.

Leaving the lamenting monks of Citeaux, and going northward over the broken and hilly country to the distance of nearly a hundred miles, passing Dijon, where his mother lay buried, and Fontaines, where his childhood had been passed, and Châtillon, where the studies of youth had engaged him, he came with his companions to a deep valley, eight miles in length by three in breadth, opening toward the east, covered with forests, with a stream of rapid water, the river Aube, running through it. This valley had been granted to the abbey of Citeaux by Hugh, a knight of Champagne, for the site of a monastery. It was a wild and desolate place, having borne the name at an earlier time of "The Valley of Wormwood," from the abundance of the bitter

plant growing in it, and having made the name morally appropriate by the shelter which it had offered to bands of robbers. It has been often and naturally supposed that it took the new and illustrious name of Clara Vallis, or Clairvaux, from the founding of the abbey by Bernard, with the local changes subsequently wrought. This might easily have been; but the valley seems to have gained its new name before he saw it, and on the whole to have fairly deserved it.

Two ranges of hills, of about equal height, approached each other at the west, where the abbey was built, but were separated more widely toward the east, to enclose a broad area of what afterward became fields and meadows, through which flowed the river. The morning sun shone full on the valley, in all its extent; while still in the late afternoon, though the abbey itself might be in shadow, the hills on either side, northward or southward, received the sunshine, and kept the air full of its beauty until the sun had passed the horizon. After long and skilful labor had been expended by the monks on both uplands and meadow, cutting, digging, subduing the soil, planting, reaping, and dividing the stream into artificial rivulets for better irrigation, the place came to be to all who saw it one of singular, placid beauty. On the hills on one side of the abbey were then vineyards, on the other side fruit-orchards; a branch of the river was made to run beneath the walls of the abbey, and to turn the wheel for the tannery and the mills; toward the east were gardens, orchards, meadows, and a fish-pond; on the west a fountain of the sweetest sparkling water,—the whole making a scene so full of rural richness and charm that they who had dwelt in it, and by their labor had contributed to transform it, could almost never willingly be separated

from it.[1] But this result was only reached after years of hardship, of patient endurance and strenuous toil; and the early life there was enough to make even the enemies of the monks, if such there were, silent if not sad with compassionate sympathy.

It was in June that they had left Citeaux, and probably not less than two weeks had been occupied in the journey, accomplished on foot, by men bearing burdens. They reached the valley too late, therefore, while they also found it too densely wooded, to allow the hope of a speedy harvest from seed then sown. Their first work must be the erection of a rude house for themselves, in which chapel, refectory, dormitory, workshop were under one roof, with a floor of earth, wooden boxes for beds, and logs for pillows. This was not finished till autumn; and then they had the work before them, which the earlier monks had done elsewhere, of removing the forest, subduing the wilderness, draining the marsh, planting the fields, and in some way wresting from reluctant nature clothing and food. Gregory the Great had said, five hundred years earlier, that to live in indolence was to rest the head on soft earth, not on a stone, and so to see no angels; that laziness was the breeder of impure thought; and that the active and the contemplative life were like the two eyes, needing to be joined as these are in the face.[2]

[1] Multum habet locus ille amœnitatis, multum quod mentes fessas allevet, luctusque solvat anxios, multum quod quærentes Dominum ad devotionem accendat, et supernæ dulcedinis ad quam suspiramus admoneat, dum ridens terræ facies multiplici colore, vernanti pictura oculos pascit, et suaveolentem naribus spirat odorem. — *Descriptio Clarævallis*, *Opera*, vol. sec., col. 2532.

The entire description from which this sentence is taken, and from which the description in the Lecture is compressed, is vivid and picturesque, written with the charming glow of a probably unconscious enthusiasm.

[2] Sunt namque nonnulli, qui mundi quidem actiones fugiunt, sed nullis

Certainly the associates of Bernard had every chance to exercise and educate what Gregory regarded as the left eye. To root out the ancient brushwood, and collect it in bundles for burning, to extirpate the dense and stiff brambles and expose them on favorable places to the fires of the sun, to eradicate thorn-bushes, to tear up and destroy the shoots and suckers which hindered the free growth of the trees to be preserved,— these were always a part of their labor, and at first composed nearly the whole of it.[1] The privations which they suffered while performing such labor nearly pass the bounds of belief. Their food in the summer had been a coarse bread of barley and millet, partially cooked, with a relish of beech-leaves steeped in water, and bits of vetch. Beech-nuts and roots of herbs must furnish food for the winter.[2] Salt wholly failed; and Bernard's faith in

virtutibus exercentur. Hi nimirum torpore, non studio dormiunt; et idcirco interna non conspiciunt, quia caput non in lapide sed in terra posuerunt. Quibus plerumque contingit, ut quanto securiùs ab externis actionibus cessant, tanto latiùs in se immundæ cogitationis strepitum per otium congerant. . . . Duæ quippe vitæ, activa videlicet et contemplativa, cum conservantur in mente, quasi duo oculi habentur in facie. Dexter namque oculus vita contemplativa est, sinister activa. . . . Hos itaque contemplativa vita ultra vires assumta, cogit a veritate cadere, quos in statu suæ rectitudinis humiliter poterat sola activa custodire. — S. GREG.: *Opera, Moral.*, lib. v., vi., coll. 163, 208.

[1] "Ramale vetus colligere, et colligare fasciculos ad comburendum; squalentes exstirpare dumos, et solis aptos ignibus aptare, eruderare sentes, evellere, destruere, disperdere spuria vitulamina, quæ crescentium arborum vel ligant ramos, vel radices suffodiunt, ne impediatur rigida quercus sublimi salutare sidera vertice," etc. — *Opera, Descriptio*, etc., vol. sec., col. 2529.

In the later time when the description was written this labor is called "amœnus quidem et quiete jocundior;" but at first it must have been as tough and difficult as it was constant.

[2] "Pulmentaria sæpius ex foliis fagi conficiebantur. Panis instar prophetici illius ex hordeo et milio et vicia erat." It was held almost for a miracle "quod inde viverent homines, et tales homines." (Vita, i. cap. 6, col. 2418.) "Tantum in primis qui ibi fuerant congregati, passi sunt penu-

God found an expression in connection with this, which was lovingly remembered. He bade a monk go on the market-day and buy some salt, at a village not distant, admitting at the same time that he had no money with which to pay for it. To the monk's remonstrance that if he went empty-handed he should return in like condition, the abbot replied, "Be not afraid; He who has the treasure will be with thee, and will supply the things for which I send." When the incredulous monk returned, having obtained in an unforeseen way much more than he had gone for, Bernard only said to him, "I tell thee, my son, that nothing is so necessary to a Christian man as faith. Have faith, and it will be well with thee all the days of thy life." [1] I do not find that in his own life he ever for long contradicted or forgot the pious maxim.

The distress, however, returned and continued, becoming if possible yet more severe; till, driven by cold, hunger, and fear, the monks had almost determined to give up what seemed a hopeless enterprise, and return to Citeaux, where at least the means of maintaining life could be commanded. Then Bernard kneeled and prayed, till he felt that a voice from heaven had answered him; and to their question what he had prayed for, he simply answered, "Remain as you are, and you shall know." Shortly a stranger coming to the abbey brought him ten livres, with which the immediate want was supplied. Another, whose son was desperately sick, brought him thirteen livres, seek-

riam, ut cibus eorum esset panis, non de avena (pretiosum namque tale edulium reputarent), sed de mistura qualicumque multo viliori, imo vilissima, utcumque conglobatus potius quam confectus. Folia quoque arborum cocta in æstate pro pulmentis habebant; in hieme vero, radices herbarum." — *Opera*, Vita, iv. lib. ii. col. 2497.

[1] Vita, iv. lib. ii. coll. 2498–2499.

ing his sympathy for the lad. The monks of a neighboring convent heard of the distress, and its abbot sent to Clairvaux considerable supplies. As time advanced, too, the ground began, however reluctantly, to yield its fruit, and absolute starvation was no more to be apprehended. The convent was fairly started on its career; and, as the ancient chronicler says, 'God so regarded them in His mercy that nothing was wanting to them either of temporal or eternal aid; according to the promise that they who fear the Lord shall not want any good thing.'[1]

In the absence of the Bishop of Langres, within whose diocese the convent lay, Bernard was consecrated abbot, A.D. 1116, by the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, better known in history as the famous lecturer, William of Champeaux, who became his wise and ardent friend, and who, as I said in the preceding lecture, ingeniously contrived to save his life by withdrawing him for a year from all personal care of the abbey, and confining him to a hut beyond the enclosure. He never recovered from the effects of his early severity in self-discipline; but from the time when he left this hut he was able, largely through the extraordinary power which his spirit exercised over his body, to do his prodigious work in the world. The abbey became always larger in numbers, wider in influence; ampler buildings were after a time erected for it, on a local site better selected than the first had been; colonies went from it in large numbers, an average of more than four in each year, into different countries; its fame for holiness, wisdom, and the highest exhibition of the virtue and grace of monastic life, rapidly filled Christian Europe.

The rule of Benedict was strictly observed in it

[1] Vita, iv. lib. ii. coll. 2498–2501.

during the lifetime of Bernard, and as long as his influence remained dominant there. According to this, the abbot, though elected by the monks, afterward represented among them the Divine Master, and to him was to be rendered respect, veneration, and immediate obedience. Among things insisted on, these were prominent: no sensuality, no idle or jesting words, humility, patience under injuries, contentment with meanest goods or employments, constancy in religious service, regularity in labor. For offences, admonition was provided; for worse offences, chastisement; for the incorrigible, expulsion. Of course no personal property was permitted. Each of the monks served in his turn in the kitchen, or at the table. Meals were to be eaten in silence, but acccompanied with the reading of Scripture. A spiritual lecture was to be given each night, before compline; after compline, silence reigned. In summer, work was required from prime till ten o'clock; from ten to twelve readings, refection, and perhaps rest; after nones, labor again till even-song. In the winter the hours differed somewhat, and the out-door work was limited or suspended; but the succession of work, reading, and prayer continued. Certain allowances were made for the aged; and the use of baths, with a meat diet, was permitted to the sick. In Lent particular carefulness was enjoined; and on Sundays, when not engaged in the services of the Church, all were expected to be occupied in reading, except the illiterate or the weak-minded, for whom other forms of occupation were arranged.

This was practically the rule at Clairvaux, as it was nominally at nearly all the monasteries in Europe.[1] In

[1] S. P. Benedicti Regula, cum Comm. Patrol. Lat., tom. lxvi. coll. 215–932. For Bernard's strictness in observing it see *Opera*, vol. prim. col. 804,

many, no doubt, as at the wealthy and famous Clugni, it had been greatly relaxed; and Bernard wrote some of his sharpest words in describing and denouncing the luxury which had come in place of the early abstinence and carefulness. "It is declared," he said, "and verily believed, that holy Fathers instituted this way of life, and that in it many have been saved; the rigor of the rule being tempered to the weak, while the rule itself has not been subverted. Far was it from those who established it, as I believe, either to command or consent to so many vanities and superfluities as I now see in many convents. I marvel how such intemperance has been able to get itself established among monks; in revellings, garments, couches, horse-exercise, and the construction of buildings. Behold! economy is now held to be avarice; sobriety, austerity; and silence is considered equivalent to sadness. On the other hand, laziness is called discretion, profusion liberality, loquacity affability, laughter joyfulness, softness of clothing and trappings of horses are called dignity, the superfluous carefulness of readers elegance. . . . Nothing is done about the Scriptures, nothing for the salvation of souls; but trifles, and jests, and light words are thrown upon the air. At dinner the jaws are as much occupied with dainties as the ears are with nonsense, and, wholly intent upon eating, you know no moderation in it. Dishes follow dishes, and in place of the meats from which abstinence is required, the great fishes are doubled in number. When you reach the second course, after being satiated with the first, you appear to yourselves to have tasted nothing. All things are

epist. cdlxxviii. [of Fastredus]. An ample analysis of the celebrated Rule is given by Montalembert, "Monks of the West," vol. ii. pp. 41–62. It has been published in English and Latin, in London, 1875.

prepared with such care and artifice of cooks, that when four or five dishes have been disposed of, the first in no way interfere with the last, nor does satiety diminish appetite. . . . Who can describe in how many ways the very eggs are tossed and tormented, with what eager care they are turned under and over, made soft and made hard, beaten up, fried, roasted, stuffed, now served minced with other things, and now by themselves! The very external appearance of the things is cared for, so that the eye may be charmed as well as the palate; and when the stomach, by frequent eructation, shows itself full, the curiosity is still not satisfied. . . . As to water, what can I say when no one takes water, even mixed with wine. As soon as we become monks we all have infirm stomachs, and do not neglect the needed injunction of the Apostle about taking wine, — only, I know not on what ground, omitting the 'little' which his precept contains. Would that even with this we were content, when the wine is pure! It shames me to say it, but it is a greater shame to have it done; and if it shames you to hear it, it will not shame you to amend it. You may see at one dinner three or four half-filled cups carried about, of wines rather smelled than tasted, or if tasted not fully drunk, that with quick discernment the strongest of all may be selected. On festival days some monks are said to observe the custom of having wines mixed with honey, and powdered with dust of colored spices. Shall we say that this is done for infirmity of the stomach? . . . So clothing is sought, not for usefulness, but with respect to its fineness, — not to keep out the cold, but to minister to pride. . . . Our customary dress, which, I say it with grief, used to be a sign of humility, is worn by the monks of our time as a sign of haughtiness. We can

hardly find in the provinces what we will condescend to wear. The soldier and the monk divide between them the same cloth, for hood and tunic; and nobody in the secular world, though he were the King himself, though he were the Emperor, would disdain to be robed in our garments, if after the fashion proper to him they were fitted and prepared. But you say, perhaps, that religion is in the heart, not in the garment. Very well! But . . . out of the treasure of the heart without doubt proceeds whatever shows itself in outward vice. A vain heart gives the mark of vanity to the body, and the exterior luxury becomes the index of the vainness of the mind. Soft raiment shows effeminacy of soul. We should not so trouble ourselves to ornament the body unless the culture of the spirit in virtue had first been neglected."[1]

At the same time that he writes with such unsparing severity, Bernard deprecates any hostile or contemptuous spirit toward others on the part of his brethren, and says, in words very characteristic: "If there be in us a scornful, pharisaic pride toward other men, and we despise others better than ourselves, what will economy and severity in our own way of life profit us, with our contrasted plainness of dress, the daily sweat of our hands in labor, our practice of fasts and vigils, the specially austere conduct of our life? unless, perhaps, we do these things to be seen of men. But of such Christ says, 'Verily, I say unto you that they shall have their reward.' If in this life only we have hope in Christ, are we not of all men most miserable? But really not even in this life may we hope in Christ, if we seek in His service only a temporary fame. . . . Could not some way be found for us easier than this to the in-

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Apol. ad Guill., cap. 8–10, coll. 1234–1241.

fernal world? If we must go thither, why, at any rate, may we not choose that broad road which leads to death, and in which multitudes walk?"[1]

He would never be disdainful toward others, this devout and sympathetic Bernard, though he so sharply reproved their excesses. He believed, as firmly as any later Puritan, that "the kingdom of God is within you:" that is, as he said, that it is not in vestments, or in foods, but in the virtues of the inner man; and that humbleness of mind in leathern garments is more precious than pride walking in tunics.[2] But he interpreted the rule of Benedict wisely, — indulgently, even, when any of his monks were sick or aged; with his own hands he ministered to them; with thoughtful care he counselled for their comfort; and by this, as well as by his peculiarly inspiring mental force, his extraordinary position in the world, and his holiness of life, he won their tender and reverent love. No such laxity, however, as he had rebuked at Clugni, had ever a place under his administration. He was an abbot watching for those committed to his care, as one who should give account of them unto God; and the strictness of his enforcement of the rule of the monastery, however tempered by wisdom and kindness, was firm and steady.

It is a strange life which thus comes before us, amid the amenities of our modern society: hard and coarse in many of its aspects, with no delightful social refinements to relieve and adorn it; no tender ministries of

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Apol. ad Guill., cap. 1, coll. 1222–1223.

[2] Regnum Dei non exterius in vestimentis aut alimentis corporis, sed in virtutibus interioris hominis. . . . Tunicati et elati abhorremus pellicias! tanquam non melior sit pellibus involuta humilitas, quam tunicata superbia. — *Opera*, vol. prim., coll. 1231–1232.

womanly affection; no leap and romp of children's feet on nursery floors; no gladness and freedom, and happy incentive to all that is best, in the domestic fireside-life. It had immense moral dangers connected with it. It wrought, unquestionably, enormous damage to the spirit and even the nature in many, who learned obedience rather than courage, who came to value a really selfish excitement of sensibility above intelligent faith and consecration, who above all learned to distrust womanhood, becoming at once cynical and erotic. We see this in history, as we should have inferred it from the nature of man. Readers of "Ivanhoe" will remember that it was a monk of the Cistercian order, to which Bernard had given the superb consecration of his fame, whom Scott represents, with essential historical truth, as the cautious, elegant, and conscienceless voluptuary, Prior Aymer. Caution and elegance did not always attend, and thinly gild, the selfishness of vice. The Italian proverb was often vindicated, that "the solitary man becomes either a beast or an angel;"[1] and on the earth beasts are produced more easily than angels. Unnatural restraints, applied to multitudes of men, tend to reaction into unnatural excesses; the recoil of the passions against the sharp regulation reminding one of the rush of a mob upon the bayonets which it overleaps. I am surely no advocate of monastic life, but am heartily glad that it has so largely disappeared, with the wastes which it subdued and the forests which it conquered, or, if any prefer the comparison, with the quenched volcanoes and the extinct mammals of an earlier epoch. But we may not forget, what even Voltaire did not hesitate to admit, that if monastic life became vicious, the secular life was often still more so;

[1] "Uomo solitario, o bestia o angiolo."

and for any fair estimate of it we must place it in our thoughts beside the fierce and turbulent temper, projected from preceding centuries, which surrounded the monastery; the savage fury, the rapacious and lustful strife, the craft and chicane, the bloody and destroying ambitions of the age.[1] So picturing it to ourselves, in its relations and contrasts, we shall not wonder that when ruled by a Bernard the abbey had in it a strong attraction; that not only the weak, the timid, or the poor, but men of the finest and highest spirit, the most cultured, enthusiastic, and devout of the time, were drawn toward it with almost irresistible force.

The very unchangeableness of the vows which they assumed became with most a condition of peace. By their own act they had been severed for life from the prizes and pursuits of the world at large. In general, therefore, they did not quarrel with their selected condition, any more than a man quarrels with his stature or his complexion, his descent from certain parents, or the loss of a limb. He may regret whatever permanently limits or fetters him, but as far as possible he adjusts his mind to it. Not a few of the monks doubtless regretted at times their isolation from secular life; but as it was a thing now fixed and final, they ceased to contend against what could not be altered, and most

[1] On leur donna même souvent des terres incultes qu'ils défrichèrent de leurs mains, et qu'ils firent ensuite cultiver par des serfs. Ils formèrent des bourgades, des petites villes même autour de leurs monastères. Ils étudièrent; ils furent les seuls qui conservèrent les livres en les copiant: et enfin, dans ces temps barbares où les peuples étaient si misérables, c'était une grande consolation de trouver dans les cloîtres une retraite assurée contre

of them, certainly, obeyed the instinct to make the best thing possible of it.

Then the situation had always at least this sovereign attraction to the nobler minds, that it held before them constantly the great ideal of a life of holiness, in the midst of the tumults and confusions of the earth. The impulse which led such to join it was in the desire to overcome the world, and to make themselves ready for immortal experiences. Their daily life kept before them the eternity for which they were preparing. The earth was to perish, and the things of the earth to be burned and to vanish. But the things which they were seeking should abide, while God lived, and while their souls were living before Him. A century hence, what would it matter to any man whether he had spent a few years here in a palace or in a hut, had eaten dainties and slept in state, or had eaten coarse food and lain on the hard pallet of the monk? But a century hence what an infinite difference whether he had kept aloof from the world and near to Christ, and had sought after God with all his soul, or had lived in a luxury which had poisoned his spirit, in a selfishness and pride bringing ultimate ruin! The eternal world was near, vivid, habitually controlling, to monks like Bernard; and their particular manner of life, whatever else it did or did not, held them up to the level of this austere and high contemplation.

It also gave sufficient opportunity for high and fruitful meditation, to those prepared by nature and by culture for this benign exercise; and sometimes, surely, this blessing was a great one. Every man must retire at intervals within himself, in reflection and silence, to do the best things. As Bishop Horne said, writing of John the Baptist, "He who desires to undertake the

office of guiding others in the ways of wisdom and holiness will best qualify himself for that purpose by first passing some time in a state of sequestration from the world; where anxious cares and delusive pleasures may not break in upon him, to dissipate his attention; where no sceptical nor sectarian spirit may blind his understanding, and nothing may obstruct the illumination from above; . . . where, in a word, he may grow and wax strong in spirit until the day of his showing unto Israel." Bedford Jail became the fit cradle for "Pilgrim's Progress." Milton's blindness, which severed him from the world, unlocked for him the gates of Paradise. The "Saint's Rest" came from a bed of prolonged suffering; and Pascal's "Pensées" were born, we know, of a life of unrelieved and isolating anguish. In the woods at Northampton, meditating beneath the silent shades, Edwards attained sublimest thoughts of God and of His Kingdom. In how many chambers of scholars, in how many schools of sacred learning, where outward things for the time at least have been excluded, and no echo has been heard of the furious and mercenary rush of society, have men come to the loftiest efforts and successes of intellectual and spiritual life! There philanthropies and missions have been born; there sublime intuitions of truth have given new import to the Scripture itself; and there Immortality has become, to the soul asserting kinship with God, a proximate presence.

So it was, in its measure, in the earlier time. The more aspiring and thoughtful spirits, who rose nearest the vision of things Divine, found freedom and opportunity in the cell of the monk which they never could have found in palaces of kings. Solitude was to them, as Landor said, "the audience-chamber of God." What

Lord Bacon regarded as necessary to the true advancement of learning they certainly enjoyed: "foundations and buildings, with endowments, and ordinances of government, all tending to quietness and privateness of life, and discharge of cares and troubles; much," he adds, "like the stations which Virgil prescribeth for the hiving of bees."[1] Certainly some honey was secreted in those human hives, on which the storm might not break too roughly.

It was while Anselm was lying on his bed at the convent of Bec, meditating the question how it could be that things past and future might appear as present to the minds of the prophets, so that they should apprehend and declare them with perfect assurance, that he saw, or seemed to himself to see, through the intervening walls, the monks of the oratory and the dormitory, whose duty it was, preparing the church and the altar for the matin-service, one of them at length ringing the bell, and at the sound all the brothers hastening to the service. He marvelled at the vision, but instantly conceived it the easiest possible thing for God to show coming things to the prophets by His Spirit, since He had enabled even himself to look with his own eyes through so many separating obstacles.[2] So, at another time, when he was intently meditating the question how the doctrine concerning God, His eternity, omnipresence, omnipotence, with His holy character, can be expressed and proved in a brief form, and when the question so pursued him even at worship that he feared it as a temptation of

[1] Advancement of Learning, book ii. vol. ii. pp. 91–92. London ed., 1825.

[2] Miratus est de re quæ acciderat. Concepit ergo apud se Deo levissimum esse, prophetis in Spiritu ventura monstrare, cum sibi concesserit quæ fiebant per tot obstacula corporeis oculis posse videre. — EADMER: *De Vita Anselmi*, lib. i. p. 3, D.

the devil, again at night, in the midst of the nocturnal vigils, a sudden light shone in his heart, the whole matter opened itself to his understanding, and his soul was filled with an immense triumphant gladness.[1]

These are of course extraordinary examples; and taken by themselves they might seem to indicate something extravagant, even abnormal, in the intellectual state produced or nurtured in monastic life. But it must be remembered that that life also had in it much of external labor, to medicine the mind, and largely to detain it from irregular and fantastic states. The work was of various kinds, but always important. I am not aware of any minute account of the daily labors of the monks of Clairvaux. Doubtless they were too busy in performing these to take time for recording them; the very thought of which, indeed, might have seemed to them foolish. But we know that the labors with which they began, the nature and the stress of which I have partly indicated, went on also in subsequent years, though lightened, of course, and becoming jocund and rewarding, as the orchards matured and gradually extended, as the meadows laughed with ampler supplies of grains and grasses, as the vineyard yielded richer clusters, and as the harnessed water-power aided in the work of the tanneries and the mill.

But such labor in the fields was alternated often, probably always among those adapted to gentler pursuits, by certain forms of literary labor, not commonly, perhaps, of the highest order, but in their way useful and educating. The Scriptorium or writing-room,[2]

[1] Eadmer, lib. i. p. 5, D.

[2] *Scriptorium.* Cella in monasteriis scriptioni librorum destinata. Alcuinus, in locum ubi scriptores sedent, Poëm. 126, et apud Canisium. Du Cange: *Gloss. Man. Latin.*, tom. vi. 136.

before and after the time of Bernard, was a room accommodating several persons, sometimes many, while engaged in transcribing books. It seems not to have been usually warmed or artificially lighted, for Maitland quotes a couplet attached to a copy of Jerome's "Commentary on Daniel," in which the scribe says of himself that while he wrote he froze, and that what he could not complete by the light of the sun he had to finish by the light of moon and stars.[1] But the necessary implements for writing were provided: ink, of lamp-black or the soot of burned ivory, mixed with gum and diluted with acid, forming an ink more durable than ours; pens, chalk, pumice-stone for smoothing the parchment, knives for cutting it, rules, compasses for measuring the intervals between lines, ink-stands, awls, for literal "punctuation;" sometimes styles, of iron or bone, for writing on wax tablets, — as Anselm, not having ink at hand, wrote his Proslogion at first on wax plates, which were afterward lost and broken.[2] The cotton paper which came into frequent use after the tenth century came in answer to a demand of the Scriptorium, as offering a cheap substitute for the then costly parchment. Pens made from feathers had earlier appeared, though many still preferred the calamus, or reed pen. The same silence was to be observed in the writing-room as elsewhere in the convent, and diligence and patience in the performance of the work were always required. Large gifts were bestowed, estates were sometimes left, for the maintenance of the Scriptorium; and no doubt the place was dear to many, who offered for it the prayer which remains inscribed in

[1] Dum scripsit friguit, et quod cum lumine solis scribere non potuit, perfecit lumine noctis. — *The Dark Ages*, p. 406. London ed., 1844.

[2] Eadmer, Vita, p. 8, E.

uncial letters on a document of the eighth century: "Vouschafe, O Lord, to bless this Scriptorium of Thy servants, and all that dwell therein; that whatsoever sacred writings shall be here read or written by them, they may receive with understanding, and bring the same to good effect, through our Lord Jesus Christ."[1]

The books thus transcribed or composed by the monks were also commonly bound by them, for the most part in sheepskin or pigskin, but sometimes in wooden covers curiously carved, sometimes in plates of lead, or, if richer in execution and of special importance, in velvet ornamented with ivory and jewels, or in silver plates, further enriched with gold or with relics. Initial letters were often inserted in gold, azure, or crimson; ornamented borders were added, sometimes elaborate in execution; and paintings not unfrequently appeared in the columns, or on separate pages, many of them miniatures, some of them caricatures. In the National Library at Paris are books with thick covers of oak, plated with gold, and set with gems, with panels of gold representing in hammer-work the Crucifixion and Resurrection; others, with ivory tablets, delicately carved. One, at Munich, is furnished with gold-bordered covers, enriched with fine pearls, on which the Lord is represented as holding the Gospels in one hand and proclaiming benediction in the gesture of the other. Thus the goldsmith's art had frequent inspiration in the careful work of the Scriptorium. Tradition says that the nearly five hundred leaves of fine vellum, illuminated, in the British Museum, represent the copy of the Scriptures given by Alcuin to Charlemagne, the preparation of which occupied twenty years.

The mere work of transcription thus accomplished by

[1] See Maitland, Dark Ages, p. 407.

the monks was immense in extent, and of a really inestimable value. Mr. Hallam has truly said that the most important service rendered to our times by the Middle-Age monasteries "was as secure repositories of books. All our manuscripts have been preserved in this manner, and could hardly have descended to us by any other channel;" [1] and Mr. Lecky, who has certainly no fondness for the monastery, states without hesitation that it "became the one sphere of intellectual labor, and continued during many centuries to occupy that position." [2] Nearly, if not absolutely, the only libraries in Europe, properly so called, were then to be found in the monasteries; and through them we derive whatever we possess of the rich and vast literature of the world before Christ, and of the world as it was around Him. We do not always remember as we ought how deeply we are indebted to the care of monks, and to their labor in the silent Scriptorium in those tempestuous and destroying times, for what they preserved, not only of the Scriptures, or of the works of the early Fathers, but of even Gentile poets and orators, historians and philosophers.[3] Perhaps they did not always estimate aright

[1] The Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 292. London ed., 1853.

[2] Hist. of European Morals, vol. ii. p. 212. New York ed., 1876.

[3] Of Cassiodorus (sixth century), Mabillon says: —

Quamobrem non modicis sumptibus universa emit sanctorum patrum opera, Cypriani, Hilarii, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, et Augustini. . . . Insuper quoscumque Historicos, quos invenire potuit, collegit, tractantes præsertim de rebus populi Dei, et Ecclesiæ, ut sunt Josephus, Eusebius, Orosius, Marcellinus, Prosper; libros item sanctorum Hieronymi et Gennadii, in quibus agitur de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis; item Historias ecclesiasticas Socratis, Sozomeni, et Teodoreti, quæ etiam, ipso suadente, ab Epiphanio Scholastico Latinè versæ, atque in unum corpus redactæ, Historiæ, quam nunc tripartitam dicimus, nomen dedere. Tandem arbitratus est, operæ pretium esse a monachis perlegi libros de Cosmographia ac Geographia tractantes; auctores item Rhetoricorum, et qui de Orthographia

the value of their work in this department, as at Clugni, for example, where it was prescribed as a custom for them when making a sign for a book which they wanted, to scratch the ear like an itching dog if asking for a copy of some Gentile writer, such as Virgil or Horace, Cicero or Plato.[1]

But whether fond of the work or not they did it, and often we know they remembered what they wrote, and used it freely, for illustration, or as furnishing themes for subsequent reflection. John of Salisbury, for example, in his single book "Policraticus, in Nugis Curialium, etc.," quotes Terence, Juvenal, Ovid, Horace, Persius, Cicero, Plato, Apuleius, and many others, — it is said by those who have counted them, in all more than a hundred and twenty ancient authors.[2] So it is reported that in the "Chronique d'Idace," a manuscript of the eleventh century, more than two hundred verses are extracted from different classical authors, as Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, and others, all being arranged in order, apparently for no other purpose than to determine the prosodial quantity.[3] The principle of John of Salisbury

scripsere; istorum namque omnium lectio videbatur ipsi ad exactam sacræ paginæ intelligentiam valde opportuna. Addito, quod cum optaret singularum materiarum generibus Bibliothecam abundare, rariores quoque Medicinæ authores hinc inde selegit, ut iis, ad quos ægrotantium cura pertineret, inservirent, unde possent, agnita qualitate morborum, eorumdem saluti opportune consulere. — *Tract. de Stud. Monast.*, tom. prim. p. 24. Venice, 1729.

[1] Pro generali signo libri, extende manum, et move sicut folium libri moveri solet. . . . Pro signo libri sæcularis, quem aliquis paganus fecit, præmisso generali signo libri, adde, ut aurem tangas cum digito sicut canis cum pede pruriens solet, quia nec immerito infideles tali animanti comparantur. (Consue. Cluniac.). — MARTÈNE: *De Ant. Mon. Rit.*, tom. iv. l. v. c. xviii.

[2] See edition published at Lyons A. D. 1513, or at London A. D. 1595.

appears to have commended itself to at least the more discerning, that all things are to be read, some to be reprobated, some neglected, some lightly glanced at, others studied, while nothing should detain the mind upon it which does not tend to make men better; but from whatever quarter truth may come it is to be accepted in itself as incorrupt and incorruptible.[1] Of course the prejudice against writers who had known nothing of the Gospel was often very strong. Alcuin himself, of whom Guizot speaks with just admiration,[2] and who in his own works quotes Pythagoras, Aristotle, Aristippus, Plato, Homer, Virgil, Seneca, Pliny, is known in his later life to have desired his disciples not to read Virgil, on the ground that the sacred poets were sufficient for them, and they should not be polluted with the impure eloquence of the great Mantuan; and one of the abbots of Clugni, who had arranged a pleasant plan for reading Virgil, is related to have dreamed at night of a vast vase, of exquisite beauty, filled with serpents which came forth to twist about him. He suspected that this represented Virgil and his impure suggestions, and thereafter kept aloof from the secular poets.[3]

[1] De Nugis Curial., cap. ix., x.

[2] Hist. de la Civil. en France, Leçon xxii. tom. ii. p. 201: "C'est un moine, un diacre, la lumière de l'Église contemporaine; mais c'est en même temps un érudit, un lettré classique."

[3] Propositum illius fuit, ut Virgilii Maronis librum ex ordine lectitaret. In secuta nocte cum membra solveret in quietem, vidit in visu vas grande mira exterius pulchritudine venustatum sed interius innumeris serpentibus æstuantem; qui prosilientes ex vase ambiebant eum, licet minime nocuissent. Evigilans vir beatus, et prudenter considerans visionem, advertit in serpentibus figmenta poetica, librum Maronis intelligens in vase illo, quod exterius civile facundia coloratum, immundorum sensuum vanitate interius sordescebat. Abrenuntians deinceps Virgilio et pompis ejus, et suo cubiculo poetis exclusis, divinarum scripturarum pasci voluit veritate. — MABILLON: *Act. Sanct. Ord. S. Ben.* (*Vita S. Ordonis*), vol. vii. p. 187. Venetiis, 1733–40.

But many followed the course recommended by Justin Martyr,[1] by Clement of Alexandria,[2] afterward by Augustine,[3] who would all have the ancient authors read, on the ground that whatever things have anywhere been rightly said are the property of Christians. Origen's instruction to Gregory Thaumaturgus, to "extract from the philosophy of the Greeks what may serve as a preparation for Christianity, and from geometry and astronomy what may explain the sacred Scriptures,"[4] and Basil's exhortation to the young, to treat the ancient literature as bees treat flowers, selecting those suitable to their use and passing by others,[5] were not altogether forgotten in the Church, but still bore their fruit. Thus the abbot of a monastery, writing in the middle of the twelfth century, says, "The dishes prepared by Cicero do not form the principal or first course at my table; but if at any time, when filled with better food, anything of his pleases me, I take it, as one takes the trifles which are set on the table after dinner." And one writing the life of Herluin, an abbot of Bec, and speaking of the numbers of learned men who flocked to the monastery, expressly declares that "the fancies of the poets, the wisdom of the philosophers, and the culture of the liberal arts are greatly needed (valde sunt necessaria) to the true understanding of the holy Scriptures."[6]

So it came to pass that even classical literature was almost wholly preserved for modern time by the labor of the monks.[7] How many copies of ancient works

[1] Apology, i. 44.
[2] Stromata, i. 1, 2, 3, 5, 13, 17.
[3] Christ. Doct., ii. 40.
[4] Ep. to Gregory.
[5] Opera, tom. ii. p. 176. Paris ed., 1722.
[6] See Maitland, Dark Ages, pp. 176, 178, note.
[7] During the short rule of Abbot Desiderius at Monte Cassino, his monks wrote out Saint Austin's fifty Homilies, his Letters, his Comment

there may have been among the more than seven hundred manuscript volumes, larger and smaller, of which Ingulphus speaks (A.D. 1091) as destroyed by the fire at the abbey of Croyland,— together with charters written with extreme beauty, and adorned with golden crosses and pictures, as well as a wonderful astronomical table of various metals, of the rarest beauty —we do not know; nor how many there may have been among the seventeen hundred manuscript volumes said to have been in the abbey library at Peterborough. But certainly the Idyls of Theocritus, the Fasti of Ovid, the poems of Virgil and Horace, the treatises of Cicero, the comedies of Terence, still shown in the library of Monte Cassino, were copied by monks. So were many, probably the vast majority, of the nine thousand manuscripts which remain in the Laurentian Library at Florence; indeed, of all the manuscripts from the ten centuries between the fifth and the fifteenth, which largely give to the great libraries of Europe their attractiveness and their fame.

When the Venerable Bede, early in the eighth century, studied the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, he must have used monastic manuscripts which had been brought to his convent from Rome; and when Ordericus tells us

upon the Sermon on the Mount, upon Saint Paul, and upon Genesis; parts of Saint Jerome and Saint Ambrose, part of Saint Bede, Saint Leo's Sermons, the Orations of Saint Gregory Nazianzen; the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse; various histories, including that of Saint Gregory of Tours, and of Josephus on the Jewish War, Justinian's Institutes, and many ascetic and other works; of the Classics, Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, Terence, Ovid's Fasti, Horace, and Virgil. Marcus Lapi, a Camaldolese, in the fifteenth century, copied a thousand volumes in less than fifty years. Jerome, a monk in an Austrian monastery, wrote so great a number of books that it is said a wagon with six horses would scarcely suffice to draw them. — J. H. NEWMAN: *Historical Sketches*, vol. i. p. 413. London ed., 1873.

of Lanfranc that "Athens, in its most flourishing state, renowned for the excellency of its teaching, would have honored him in every branch of eloquence and discipline," [1] he of whom Ordericus wrote could only have derived his principal instruments of training and of culture from the libraries of the abbeys and the labors of their inmates. I do not think it extravagant to say that except for the monasteries, with the manuscripts which they collected and the manuscripts which they copied, we should now have to regret the loss not only of many precious fragments of the ancient literature, but of almost all which it presents to us of the intellectual riches which were in the world before the Master. The destruction of the convents would have darkened the world in later centuries.

But the service rendered by the monks in the preservation of the Scriptures still surpassed in importance and value their service toward the classical writers. One cannot think of it without affectionate reverence. Thus the third abbot of Citeaux, Bernard's first convent, Saint Étienne, caused an immense Bible to be written in six volumes, and to be collated with Hebrew manuscripts by learned rabbis. [2] In A. D. 1299

[1] Eccl. Hist., lib. iv. cap. 7.

[2] Martène speaks of this as still existing A. D. 1709: "La bibliothèque est au dessus; . . . Il y a un bon fond de livres imprimez sur toutes sortes de matières, et sept ou huit cens manuscrits, dont la plûpart sont des ouvrages des pères de l'église. Les plus considérables sont la bible en six volumes, que Saint Étienne troisième abbé de Cîteaux fit corriger par des Rabins, le manuscrit qui contient la règle de Saint Benoît" etc., etc. Voy. Litt., prim. par. p. 221. Paris, 1717.

The same careful observer gives a multitude of other examples of important monastic manuscripts remaining to his time. This is one which modern libraries would give much to possess: "J'y vis entr' autres un ancien recueil d'homelies des saints Pères compilées par ordre de l'empereur Charlemagne, pour être lûës aux offices divins durant le cours de

a Bible in two large folio volumes, with annotations, was borrowed of a convent at Winchester by a bishop, who gave bonds for returning it. Another, in twelve volumes, was bequeathed to a convent by the Bishop of Cambrai, A. D. 1294, the monks engaging not to sell it, or to lend it without ample security. Wicbert, bishop of Hildesheim at the end of the ninth century, wrote out a whole Bible with his own hand; and Olbert, abbot of Gembloux, in the early part of the eleventh century, wrote another. One of the successors of Wicbert gave two additional copies to the abbey-library, carefully elaborated, with marginal glosses.[1] It was held that every monastery was weak and defenceless against the world and the devil which had not in it a complete, and if possible a rich, copy of the Scriptures.

Often copies remain, not only written with cautious exactness and delicate care, but even splendidly ornamented, as I have said, not only with rich colors in the initials and on the borders, but on the outside with gold and jewels. Lacroix gives signal instances of these; mentioning, for example, a psalter of the thirteenth century, containing the French, Hebrew, and Latin text, in five colors, with commentaries added, a book now in the National Library at Paris; mentioning, also, books covered with enamelled copper, or with carved ivory, or with silver ornamented with jewels. "All great public collections," he says, "show with pride some of these rare and

l'année, écrit de son temps" (p. 56). Of the collection of manuscripts at Clairvaux, he mentions twenty important ones particularly, and says: "Il en faut dire de même des ouvrages dogmatiques des pères, dont nous en avons vû plusieurs dans Clairvaux, écrits du temps de Saint Bernard même, et entr' autres les six livres de Saint Augustin contre Julien." (Page 103.)

[1] For the foregoing particulars, and many others similar, see Maitland, Dark Ages, pp. 264, 196, 198, *et seq.*

venerable bindings, decorated with gold, silver, or copper, engraved, chased, or inlaid with precious stones or colored glass, with cameos or antique ivories."[1] Some of the manuscripts were written on purple vellum, and either partly or wholly in characters of gold or silver, instead of ink; and such, of course, were furnished with the most luxurious covers. Silvestre gives ample examples in his "Paléographie Universelle." Louis the Débonnaire gave to a monastery at Soissons, A. D. 826, a copy of the Gospels, written in letters of gold, and bound in plates of the same metal. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, caused two similar copies to be written for his church, also bound in gold adorned with gems. A count of Friuli bequeathed to his children, besides his copy of the Bible, a Gospel bound in gold, another in silver, another in ivory. The Emperor Henry Second, on recovering from illness at Monte Cassino, presented to the monastery a copy of the Gospels written in uncial characters, illuminated as well as bound with gold, and studded with precious gems. An Elector of Bavaria offered an entire town, with its dependencies, to a convent in exchange for a single rich copy of the Gospels, and the monks declined the offer.[2] Such instances might, no doubt, be indefinitely multiplied, if one had means and leisure to pursue the research; and they show what value was put upon the Scriptures before the governing Church authorities came to fear the effect of their general use, and what kind of work it was which went on in the busy Scriptorium.

The fact that so many manuscript copies of the Scriptures remain, in whole or in part, after all the desola-

[1] Arts of the Middle Ages, p. 473. London ed., 1875.

[2] See Maitland, Dark Ages, pp. 206, 204.

tions of war and fire,[1] after binders had cut up multitudes of parchments to be used for covers, after tailors even had employed them for measures, as came near being done, it is said, with a venerable copy of Magna Charta now in the British Museum,[2] and after revolutionary sackings of the convents had scattered their libraries,—this shows how eager and how constant was the labor which produced them in such numbers. One of the most careful and learned of modern students of the text of the Scriptures says, with just emphasis, "It is very memorable that written copies of the Greek Scriptures, including those of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, far exceed in age and number those of all the classical writers put together."[3] This of course does not include the vastly larger number of manuscripts of the Vulgate, or Latin translation of the Bible, of which more copies remain than of all other

[1] The wail of the monks of Hildesheim had often to be repeated in the monasteries: "Postea 12 Kal. Februarii peccatis agentibus principale templum Hildineshemensis ecclesiæ diabolo insidiante per noctem igne succensum, sed solo divinæ miserationis subsidio velociter, Deo gratias! est exstinctum. Sed hoc, ah! ah! nobis restat lugendum, quia in eodem incendio cum preciosissimo missali ornamento inexplicabilis et inrecuperabilis copia periit librorum. ("Annal. Hildesheim." an. 1013.)

[2] See Timbs' "Curiosities of London," p. 587, Art. "British Museum." A palmary instance of the careless rapacity of binders is presented in the fact that a part of the lost fragment of the famous Tabula or map of the Roman Empire, originally made in the fourth century and copied in the thirteenth, was found not many years since in the parchment cover of a book in the library at Trèves, and returned to its place in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The portions still missing are probably to be accounted for in the same way, and may yet come to light. So on a plate of glass at Trinity College, Cambridge, is shown a leaf of the Gospel of Mark, made up of twenty or more pieces contained in the binding of a volume of Gregory Nazianzen, and picked out A. D. 1862.

[3] F. H. Scrivener, Lects. on Text of the New Testament, p. 11. Cambridge ed., 1875.

early books put together. Of the Greek Scriptures alone, about sixty copies are known to exist, written in the large uncial character of the early centuries, where an average of twelve letters filled a line, though many of these copies are but in parts; and of those written in the half-uncial or in the later cursive character, which prevailed from the tenth century onward, more than sixteen hundred are known and catalogued as belonging to public or private libraries. Yet all of those in Europe are certainly not yet known, while the Eastern monasteries, from which have come most important additions to the list in recent years, have been only imperfectly explored. These Middle Age manuscripts, as Isaac Taylor has said, "were often indebted for their preservation, in periods of disturbance and violence, to the sacredness of the roofs under which they were lodged;" while such was the durability of the materials employed, the parchment and the ink, that, as he also says, "while the massive walls of the monasteries are often seen prostrate, and their materials fast mingling with the soil, the manuscripts penned within them, or perhaps at a time when their stones were yet in the quarry, are still fair and perfect, and glitter with their gold and silver, their cerulean and their cinnabar."[1]

[1] Transmission of Ancient Books, pp. 45, 44. Liverpool ed., 1879.

The Cistercian Convents, of which Clairvaux was one, were especially noted for zeal in collecting and transcribing manuscripts, for which Mabillon gives the reason: "Quod propriæ fundationis initio veterum monachorum consuetudinem renovare studuerint, quæ in antiquaria arte versabatur." Concerning the collections thus made, he adds: "Plerasque dictarum cellularum etiamnum Cistertii conspicimus, in quibus antiquarii, librorumque compaginatores operabantur; ingensque voluminum copia, quæ ad hæc usque tempora in insignioribus ejusdem ordinis cœnobiis in Gallia servantur. . . . Reperiebantur, sicut etiam nunc temporis adsunt, in hisce bibliothecis omnium librorum genera, et præcipue universa sanctorum Patrum opera, tum quæ dogmata continent, tum quæ speciatim de morum

Nor was the labor of the monks simply that of transcription. They translated, edited, composed works, as well as copied them. Many sermons and homilies were of course written by them, with a multitude of annals. One monk of St. Gall, early in the eleventh century, wrote a German paraphrase of the Psalms. Another, at Bamberg, who became an abbot, composed a double paraphrase, in Latin verse and German prose, of Solomon's Song. The writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius, which came into France early in the ninth century as a present from the Greek Emperor, were translated into Latin at the abbey of St. Denis, and afterward retranslated by John Scotus. Chrysostom is said to be quoted by some of the early mediæval writers, though I have not seen this. Plato was certainly known, in a measure, through Boethius and Plotinus. The Venerable Bede, as we know, applied himself to every branch of literature and science then known, and treated of history, astrology, orthography, rhetoric, natural science, poetry, and music, as

honestate pertractant." Mabillon recognizes the indebtedness of letters and of devotion to the library gathered at Clairvaux in Bernard's time, and closes thus: "Solumque poeseos authores ipsis interdicebantur, ut ex epistola 15, prædicti Nicolai Clarævallensis colligitur, ubi ait, 'Nos nihil recipimus quod metricis legibus continetur.'" ("Tract. de Stud. Monast.," tom. prim. pp. 35–36.) Such an inveterate scamp as Nicholas naturally preferred the Poets to the Fathers!

Entre les manuscrits du temps qui décorent la première de ces deux bibliothèques [Citeaux and Clairvaux], on remarque principalement les quatre grands volumes de la Bible, revûe et corrigée sous la direction de l'Abbé S. Estiene, comme il a été dit ailleurs. Dans celle de Clairvaux se voïent aussi plusieurs beaux manuscrits du même siècle, entre lesquels les plus remarquables sont un Psautier et un Décret de Gratien, l'un et l'autre en beau velin *in-folio*. Le Psautier, dont les letres initiales de chaque Psaume sont en or moulu d'une grande beauté, est un présent fait à Clairvaux par Henri, fils du Roi Louis le Gros, puis Moine sous S. Bernard, et successivement Evêque de Beauvais et Archevêque de Reims. — *Hist. Littéraire*, tom. ix. pp. 141–142.

well as of the Scriptures. His Ecclesiastical History shows astonishing learning for the time, and Burke's remark about him is simply just, that "it is impossible to refuse him the praise of an incredible industry and a generous thirst of knowledge."[1]

Indeed generally, except for the work of the monkish chroniclers, our knowledge would be vastly imperfect either of French or English history. Bede, Ingulphus, Matthew Paris, William of Malmesbury, and others in England, or, on the other side of the Channel, Raoul Glaber, Odo of Vienne, William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and many more, trace for us the early course of events with fond enthusiasm and picturesque faithfulness, if sometimes with a readiness to accept the marvellous in their reports which belonged rather to their times than to ours. Ordericus shows himself a cultivated man, as he should have been, having free access to the monastery library containing more than a hundred and fifty manuscript volumes, of ancient authors, as of those more recent. He quotes Aristotle, Herodian, Josephus, Philo, as well as Cicero, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Terence, and the works of the Fathers; and his account, especially of the contemporaneous relations between Normandy and England, gives him high rank among writers of his time. The chronicle of Matthew Paris, besides its careful and graphic account of historical events, contains reports of eclipses, and of remarkable astronomical and meteorological phenomena, which, as his French translator properly notices, entitle him to the careful attention of modern physicists.[2] The

[1] Works, vol. v. p. 532. Boston ed., 1839. Ibique venerabilem Bedam intueri publicum in Scholis Professorem, cujus etiam Alumni per varias Galliæ et Germaniæ provincias dispertiti fuere. — MABILLON: *Tract. de Stud. Monast.*, Pars prim. p. 83.

[2] Introd. à la Grande Chronique, p. xliv. Paris ed., 1840.

"Chronicon Angliæ," by another monk of St. Alban's, the "Chronicon Anglicanum," from the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall, the "Chronicle" of Roger of Hoveden, the "Polychronicon" of Ranulph Higden, with other similar collections, have been lately published, you know, by the British Government in recognition of their importance.

Not only annals engaged the attention of the monks. The first treatise on the Art of Poetry which appeared in the French tongue was written by a monk of St. Geneviève at Paris; the only grammar of the Romance language by a monk of Einsiedlen.[1] Peter the Venerable, in Bernard's time, wrote a treatise against the Jews, to show the divinity of the Lord. He wrote another, in four books, against the Mohammedans;[2] and he had the Koran translated into Latin, with the aid of those familiar with Arabic, that the West might understand the formidable religion which was rising to power in the East.[3] The study of the canon-law became common, especially after Gratian, an Italian monk, had published, in the middle of the twelfth century, his "Decretum," or collection of canons, papal epistles, and sentences from the Fathers, arranged in chapters, under titles.

[1] Mores Catholici, vol. iii. pp. 238, 273.

[2] Two of these have disappeared. The others are in his Opera, coll. 661–720 [Migne ed.].

[3] The letter which he wrote to Bernard on sending this to him, begins thus:—

Mitto vobis, charissime, novam translationem nostram, contra pessimam nequam Machumet hæresim disputantem. Quæ nuper, dum in Hispaniis morarer, meo studio de Arabica versa est in Latinam. Feci autem eam transferri a perito utriusque linguæ viro magistro Petro Toletano. Sed quia lingua Latina non ei adeo familiaris, vel nota erat, ut Arabica, dedi ei coadjutorem doctum virum dilectum filium et fratrem Petrum notarium nostrum, reverentiæ vestræ, ut æstimo, bene cognitum. — *Opera Pet. Ven.*, col. 649.

Instruction, too, was given outside the abbeys; as Peter of Blois mentions the instruction given at Cambridge by teachers from Croyland [A. D. 1109], who instructed in "philosophical theorems, and other primitive sciences," teaching "grammar according to Priscian and Remigius, the logic of Aristotle according to the 'Introductions,' of Porphyry and Averrhoes (?), the 'Rhetoric' of Cicero, and the 'Institutes' of Quintilian." In a word, it may be said, without hesitation, that it was a life of distinctly various study and literary labor which went on in the monasteries, whenever those of studious taste and habits, as must often have happened, found themselves in these. The ages were "dark," but whatever points of light and promise appeared in Christendom were commonly in the convents; and that there were more of them than is commonly supposed is made very evident in the rich volumes of the "Histoire Littéraire de la France," by the Benedictines of St. Maur. It is never to be forgotten that it was by a secluded monk, Thomas à Kempis, that that "Imitation of Christ" was no doubt written which has been translated into more languages, more frequently reprinted, more widely read, than probably any other book of human authorship, and which has certainly contributed not less largely than any other to the quickening and culture of devout feeling.

But it was by no means literary labor alone which went on in the monasteries. Albertus Magnus was a monk of the thirteenth century, who wrote on physical geography, the physiology of plants, who was fascinated by analytical chemistry, and who arranged a hot-house in his convent at Cologne. Vincent, of Beauvais, was another, author of the "Speculum majus." Roger Bacon was

another, whom Humboldt esteemed "the most important and influential man of the Middle Ages;"[1] born too early, no doubt, but great as a linguist, a mathematician, a scientific discoverer, who understood the error of the calendar and how to rectify it, who was familiar with the theory and the practice of perspective, with the use of concave and convex lenses, and of the camera obscura, with the theory of the telescope; who, in fact, largely anticipated the philosophy which gave subsequent renown to the name of Lord Bacon. He was a devout Catholic and monk, though his strange scientific discoveries made men fear him as a wizard. On a lower level, in humbler ways, many were skilful in other arts than those of the copyist. Thus at Evroult, Ordericus tells us that one of the early abbots had a lively genius for the arts, such as sculpture and architecture, while with his own hands he prepared wax tablets and other implements for writing; that one of the monks was specially skilful in illuminating books, as well as in copying and committing them to memory; that one superintended with success the building of the abbey-church; that another made a shrine for relics, ornamented with silver and gold, and provided much other costly and elaborate furniture for the convent; and that another ornamented a book of the Gospels with gold, silver, and precious stones; while others were accomplished musicians, composing antiphons, as well as singing with taste and skill. One, at least, was a famous physician, held in such love and honor by his patients that rich gifts came to the monastery on his account.[2] The monks of Clairvaux had a high reputation for the beauty and richness of their illu-

[1] Cosmos, vol. ii. p. 619.

[2] Eccl. Hist. iii. 7, 12; ii. 5; vi. 5, 4; v. 12, 15, 19.

minated missals, and at least one example remains of their admirable carvings in wood.[1]

The monks, too, gave lessons in agriculture to the ruder peasantry, making their labor more skilful, its results more abundant. Sharon Turner has shown from Domesday Book how superior was the culture of church-lands, beginning as wastes but coming to have less forest upon them than other lands, and less common pasture, with more abundant meadow-land in more numerous distributions;[2] and the neighboring peasants could not but learn new wisdom in regard to the culture of vineyards and orchards, the better kinds of esculents and grains, in regard indeed to the entire science and art of practical gardening. The most famous vineyards along the Rhine were planted by monks. The choicest wines of Burgundy come to-day from grounds which

[1] Ozanam's tribute to Fulda is not less emphatic: —

(In the eighth century) Fulde était l'école, non de la Germanie seulement, mais de tout l'empire carlovingien. On y professait, comme à Saint-Gall, toutes les sciences, tous les arts, toutes les industries qui font l'ornement de la civilization. Pendant que les défrichements, poussés avec vigueur, éclaircissaient la forêt vierge, et que les belles fermes de l'abbaye réduisaient en pratique les règles de l'agriculture romaine, il y avait des fonds affectés à tous les ouvrages de pierre, de bois, et de métal; et le trésorier veillait à ce que les ateliers de sculpture, de ciselure, d'orfévrerie, ne fussent jamais vides. Une inscription en vers, tracée sur la porte de la salle où travaillaient les copistes, les exhortait à multiplier les livres, en prenant garde de s'attacher à des textes corrects, et de ne pas les altérer par des interpolations frivoles. . . . Le moine Probus professait pour Virgile et Cicéron un culte si religieux, qu'on l'accusait, en riant, de les ranger au nombre des saints. On étudiait l'introduction de Porphyre aux Catégories d'Aristote avec tant d'acharnement, qu'on disputait si les genres et les espèces dont traitait le philosophe étaient des noms ou des choses; et les controverses de Fulde remuaient déjà le problème qui devait mettre aux prises, pendant trois cents ans, les réalistes et les nominaux. — OZANAM: *La Civil. chrétienne chez les Francs*, pp. 592–593. Paris ed., 1872.

[2] Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p 478, app. iv. chap. 2. London ed., 1852.

they subdued and tilled. Districts which had been bleak and sterile, they changed not unfrequently into pleasant lands of corn and wine, fruitful and glad.

It is also to be observed that the monasteries were centres of the distribution of charities, to a vast extent. We do not get the testimony to this from modern Roman Catholics. Neander mentions the illustrative fact that in the year A. D. 1117, when there was a great famine, the monastery of Heisterbach, near Cologne, distributed in one day fifteen hundred alms, of meat, herbs, and bread.[1] But this was by no means an extraordinary example. At Bernard's own convent, when at a time of scarcity in Burgundy the starving peasantry flocked to it in great numbers, not having command of food enough to supply them all till the harvest should come, he selected two thousand to whom regular support should be given, while others received minor assistance; and this was continued for three months.[2] He was not content with furnishing such immediate assistance, but, with a practical shrewdness as marked as his compassion, he counselled and directed his friend, the Count of Champagne, in establishing a permanent fund for the benefit of the poor, which should go on increasing and supplying ever fresh means for their relief.[3] He exhorted others to a liberality like his own, and to a bishop of Troyes, who in sickness had distributed all his goods to the poor, he wrote in terms of such ardent praise as no genius or wealth could have wrested from his pen. "Above all

[1] Hist. of Church, vol. iv. p. 239, note.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, iv. lib. ii. 6, col. 2501.

[3] Opera S. Bern., Vita, i. lib. ii. col. 2183. Et immortalia templa fundare consuluit, et eleemosynas ea sagacitate disponere, ut semper fructificantes redivivis et renascentibus accessionibus novas semper eleemosynas parturirent.

royal treasures," he says, "this title [derived from a voluntary poverty] ennobles you, and makes you illustrious."[1] Practically, his conviction was the same with that of Anselm, that "the riches of the world are for the common benefit of men, as created by the common Father of all, and that by natural law no one has more right than another to any possession;"[2] and they both acted on the conviction with Christian liberality, in their dealings with the poor. Anselm, at Bec, gave so freely that he had to exhort the monks to hope in God for what they themselves needed, who would be sure to send it in some unexpected fashion.[3] So one of the abbots of Clugni broke up the sacred and costly vessels of the church, with beautiful ornaments and golden crowns an imperial gift, to relieve the poor;[4] and many others, in humbler manner, counted it their joy as well as their duty to minister to the needy. Political economists, if there had been such in that remote day, might have objected, as they now do, that such vast help rendered to the poor only stimulates mendicancy. But it must at least be remembered that the monks showed also, in their own life, the dignity of labor; and that in those harder times an innocent and a helpless poverty, occasioned by calamities of nature or of war, was far more frequent than with us.

But not to the poor alone, to the sick as well, the monasteries ministered. The writings of Hippocrates, of Galen, or of the Saracenic physicians when translated into Latin, were sure to be in their libraries, if anywhere. Whatever of botanical or chemical knowledge

[1] Vol. prim., epist. xxiii. col. 167.
[2] Eadmer, De Vita, p. 8, E.
[3] Eadmer, De Vita, p. 10, C.

existed in the world, however small and insufficient, was also there most frequently found; and they who possessed it were naturally called on for the services which such knowledge might assist, not by the poor alone, but in castle and palace. William the Conqueror died, you remember, in a Norman priory, with a bishop and an abbot for his principal physicians;[1] and Goisbert, Prior of Maule, was peculiarly famous and beloved as a physician, among those of high rank.[2] Nor were their aids confined to those who could reward them. When the malignant erysipelas, known as St. Anthony's fire, swept over parts of France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and when the more fearful leprosy — partly imported, but favored certainly by wretched living, the want of cleanliness, with constant exposure to cold and damp — came to its terrific prevalence, and made each person infected a moving centre for distributing the plague, the monasteries, many of them, saw their office and effectively performed it. Hospitals and refuges were provided for the leprous, and, as Mr. Lecky has said, "monks flocked in multitudes to serve in them."[3] A Dominican monk, quoted by Neander, writing a century later, but writing what was as really if not as extensively true of preceding times, says that "owing to the danger of infection, the impatience and ingratitude of the victims of the disease, it was one of the most forbidding of labors to wait on them. Among thousands, but very few were to be found who could be induced to live with them; for, with many, nature herself revolted at it. Had there not been some," he adds, "who, for God's sake, fought down the repugnance of nature, they

[1] Ordericus, lib. vii. c. 14 [an. 1087].
[2] Ord. Vit., lib. v. cc. 12, 15.
[3] Hist. of European Morals, vol. ii. p. 90.

would have been left absolutely deprived of all human assistance."[1] Women, as well as men, took part in the service; and the high-born and delicately nurtured, in the indomitable spirit of religious enthusiasm, bound up the offensive and dreadful sores, and applied to them their poor emollients.

It is certainly also to the high and permanent honor of the monasteries that the first institutions in Christendom for the remedial treatment of insanity, and for the protection of those suffering from it, proceeded from them. Nearly five centuries ago, A. D. 1409, a monk founded an asylum for lunatics in Valencia; others followed, in different cities of Spain, and the oldest similar asylum in Rome was erected by Spaniards, under the impulse thus imparted.[2] Pinel, whose name will have immortal renown for his careful investigation of insanity, and his success in the humane treatment of it, paid honorable tribute to this work of the monks. It is the more noteworthy because insanity was so commonly regarded in the Middle Age as a direct judgment of God, if not as representing demoniacal possession.

Occasionally, at least, the monks rescued and reformed condemned criminals, as Bernard himself did on one memorable occasion, when he met a famous robber on the way to execution as he himself was going to visit the Count of Champagne. Seizing the halter by which the robber was being led to his doom, he took him with him to the count; and when the latter naturally objected to letting loose such a reckless ruffian, thereby endangering the lives of many, Bernard promised that whereas the man had been condemned to the brief punishment of an instantaneous death he would put him

[1] Hist. of Church, vol. iv. p. 267.

[2] Lecky, Hist. of European Morals, vol. ii. pp. 94–95.

under a discipline of daily crucifixion for many years; and throwing off tunic and cowl he put them on the robber, and took him to Clairvaux, making, as the chronicler says, a lamb out of the wolf, a converted man out of the robber. The man lived in the monastery more than thirty years, justifying the name Constantius which had been given him, by his faithfulness in service, and then, as the record says, "migrated to God," who had deigned to snatch him, by the agency of Bernard, from the double death of body and of soul.[1] Such instances can hardly have been common. No doubt the peculiar intensity of Bernard's spirit gave him a power, both of rescuing and reforming, which others could not equal. But the one signal instance shows what others like him might accomplish, to make the monastery a place of resurrection for hopeless souls. One may well agree, too, with the remark of Mr. Hallam, on the right of sanctuary to accused persons which the abbey churches maintained, that while "under a due administration of justice this privilege would have been simply and constantly mischievous, in the rapine and tumult of the Middle Ages it might as often be a shield to innocence as an immunity to crime. We can hardly regret," he adds, "in reflecting on the desolating violence which prevailed, that there should have been some green spots in the wilderness, where the feeble and the persecuted could find refuge."[2]

It is always to be remembered, also, that the missionary work which distributed the Scriptures in many lands, and carried what was then understood as the Gospel to barbarous peoples, had its centre largely in the monasteries. It was by Benedictine monks, under the lead of the abbot Augustin, that Christianity was brought to the

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 15, coll. 2345–46.

[2] Hist. of Middle Ages, ix. 1; vol. iii. p. 302. London ed., 1853.

Saxons in England, at the end of the sixth century, and that the foundations were there laid of those institutions, and the initial impulse was given to that ennobled spiritual life, which are the richest inheritance to-day of all the English peoples of the world. More than any actual or possible foundations of custom or charter, the two ancient copies of the Italic version of the Gospels, written in large uncial characters, preserved one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the other in the Library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, and believed to be the very copies brought to England from Gregory by Augustin, represent the basis of the political and ethical civilization in which the British empire, with all its colonies, now rejoices. The same work was carried on more widely in subsequent centuries; as by Columba at Iona, evangelizing the Picts; by Aidan, at Lindisfarne, carrying the Gospel throughout the north of England; by Boniface in Germany, baptizing, it is said, in twenty years, a hundred thousand converts, and dying at last, by heathen violence, with his head pillowed on a copy of the Gospels;[1] by Anschar in Denmark and Sweden; by Saint Gall in Switzerland. Not only among Celts, Teutons, and Scandinavians, was the Gospel thus preached by monks. From the Franciscan monasteries, afterwards, went missionaries to the Mohammedans, in Africa, Spain, Syria, who fronted every form of danger and of torture, and of horrible death, for the sake of their errand; and from the Nestorian seminaries others made their way through Tartary and to China.

Not such foreign missions alone engaged the monks.

[1] A touching incident is added by Ozanam: "Auprès de lui était un livre mutilé par le fer, taché de sang, et qui semblait tombé de ses mains. Il contenait plusieurs opuscules des Pères, entre lesquels un écrit de Saint Ambroise: *Du Bienfait de la mort.*" — *La Civil. chez les Francs*, tom. ii. p. 254.

They preached religion, as they understood it, in its doctrines and precepts and its Divine promises, in their own neighborhoods and countries. The order of Premonstrants, founded by Norbert at Prémontré in A. D. 1121, and which came to have a thousand monasteries, with five hundred nunneries, was especially established to unite preaching and the cure of souls with the regular monastic duties; and the mendicant orders, having no abbeys, but going everywhere to teach and preach, were for scores of years a great power for good in Christendom.[1] Even Wyckliff thought well of them till his advancing doctrinal views brought him to sharp collision with their teaching.

I may not weary your attention with other particulars, showing the variety, and the frequently signal beneficence, of the work which went on in and around the better class of the mediæval monasteries. My aim has not been to set this at large and fully before you, for which volumes would be needed, but only to indicate some of the facts which made monastic life, as it was at that time, peculiarly attractive to Bernard, and to others of his temper, as well as to multitudes of humbler and ruder men. I have done this at greater length because the modern conception of ancient monasteries is often obscure, or essentially grotesque, making it difficult to associate with them one like Bernard. It is important to remember, therefore, that the convent life was not one of indolence; while the monk was subject to a rule of which even so cautious and confirmed a Protestant as Guizot has said that it made life humane and moderate, more so than either the laws or customs prevailing outside; that "they were governed by an authority, take it altogether, more reasonable, and exercised in a manner

[1] See Neander, Hist. of Church, vol. iv. pp. 276–279.

less severe, than they would have found in civil society."[1] The strongest personal attachments often grew up among them, as of Anselm to Osbern, whom he besought to appear to him after death if it were possible, whom he thought that he had thus seen, and of whom he wrote to his friends that the soul of Osbern was as his own, and that if they loved him, they must never forget his friend;[2] as of Adelmann to Berengar, which survived years and sharp doctrinal differences, and recalled still the delightful conversations which they had had in youth, when walking in the garden at eventide with their teacher, who spoke to them of the heavenly country.[3] A practical democracy existed in the monasteries, where all the monks elected the abbot whom they were afterward to obey, and where the distinctions of rank prevailing in the world had entirely disappeared, noble and vassal working together, the count and the ploughman side by side. This was a fact fruitful of consequences. Such an established, organized, Christian Socialism had to do with all history. When men were confessedly equal before God, it was not surprising that after a time a larger measure of equality should be secured before the Law, or even that the great instrument of Magna Charta, with its careful and controlling defences of liberty, should have had for its first witness Stephen Langton, the illustrious archbishop.[4]

[1] Civil. en France, leçon xiv. tom. i. p. 394. Paris ed., 1846.

[2] Eadmer, De Vita, 4, c. D.; epist. Anselmi, v. vii. *et al.*

[3] Neander, Hist. of Church, vol. iii. pp. 502–503.

[4] While the first care was to secure the liberty of the Church in Magna Charta, with the privileges of the Barons, it is evident that the welfare of all classes was regarded, no distinction being made in this respect between Norman and Saxon, baron, freeholder, merchant, townsman; even the villein having recognition.

Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus, quod Anglicana Ecclesia libera

When the monk was sick, too, special arrangements were made for his comfort; and when he was old, as appears for example from Ingulphus' account of Croyland, a chamber was assigned him in the infirmary, with a servant to wait on him, and a companion daily appointed. He could go in and out at his pleasure; nothing unpleasant in the monastery was to be talked of before him; and the general rule was that "nobody shall vex him about anything, but in perfect peace and quietness of mind he shall wait for his end." [1]

I submit that it need occasion no wonder that men loved their monasteries, in those wild and fierce ages, with a quite peculiar fondness of affection; that they sought them eagerly, were most unwilling to leave them. Thus a young novice wrote from Clairvaux, with an enthusiasm which we cannot, I think, wholly fail to understand: "Although, so far as location is concerned, it is situated in a valley, its foundations are on the holy mountains, which the Lord loveth more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of it, because in it the glorious and wonderful God works glorious wonders. There those long insane return to reason, and though the outer man perishes, the inner is renewed. There the proud are humbled, and the rich become poor; there the poor hear the Gospel, and the gloom of the sinful is changed into light. To this house a great multitude of the blessed poor come from the ends of the earth, assembled from different regions and peoples; yet have they one spirit and one mind. They have

sit, et quod omnes homines de regno nostro habeant et teneant omnes libertates præfatas, jura, et consuetudines bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plene et integre, sibi et hæredibus suis, de nobis et hæredibus nostris, in omnibus rebus et locis, in perpetuum, ut prædictum est. — *Mag. Chart.*, cap. 62.

[1] Chronicle of Croydon, A. D. 974; "Decrees of Turketul."

found at Clairvaux the ladder of Jacob, with angels on it, some descending to provide for their bodies that they faint not by the way; some ascending, who so guide their souls that hereafter even their bodies shall be glorified with these. The more attentively I watch from day to day these so poor in their happy life, the more fully do I believe them to follow Christ in all things, and to show themselves true ministers of God. While I watch them at the daily services, and in the nightly vigils from before midnight until the dawn, with brief interval, so holily and unweariedly singing, they seem to me little less than angels, much more than men. Some of them I understand to have been bishops, others counts, or men eminent by other dignities and by great knowledge; some have been illustrious youth; but now, by the grace of God, all acceptation of persons being dead among them, by as much as any one has thought himself higher in the world, by so much does he hold himself less than the least in this flock, and in all things more lowly. I see them in the gardens with the hoe, in the meadows with fork and rake, in the fields with the sickle, in the forest with the axe, in other places of labor with other implements, and while I remember what they have been and consider their present station, work, instruments, their mean and ill-made clothes, though to the outward eye they may seem not so much men as a stupid class, mute and speechless, the sound and trustworthy discernment of my heart assures me that their life is hid with Christ in the heavens." One is not surprised that he closes his long letter with saying, "Farewell! God willing, on the next Sunday after Ascension Day I shall put on the armor of my profession as a monk."[1]

[1] Opera S. Bern. vol prim., epist. cdlxxix. from Peter de Roya, Novice, coll. 805–813.

Bernard himself always left his abbey with sore regret, and only as pulled away from it by imperious exigencies of public affairs. He thought of it in his absence with anxious affection and eager desire, and returned to it, from whatever scenes of honor and applause, with the deepest delight. It was to him the "beloved Jerusalem." After cities like Milan had almost fought to make him their archbishop; after stubborn princes had been smitten before him into prostrate submission; after cardinals had hated him because his power with the Pontiff surpassed their own; after miracles, even, in long series, had seemed to attend his triumphing steps, — he came back, not merely to preach daily sermons to the monks, but to take his part in preparing dinners and washing the kitchen plates and vessels, to look after the poultry, to number the pigs, and to grease his own shoes.[1] The greatest difficulty which he met in sending colonies from Clairvaux came from the reluctance of monks to leave it. From more fertile valleys, and more

[1] Quo nimirum intuitu vitam regulamque communem amplius æmulabatur, nil in suis actibus præferens observantiæ singularis. . . . Sic autem fuit ab initio spiritu validus, corpore infirmus; nil tamen indulgentiæ circa corporis quietem seu refectionem, nil remissionis de communi labore vel opere fieri sibi aliquando acquiescens. . . . Ubi vero vires deficiebant, ad viliora quæque opera confugiens, laborem humilitate recompensabat. — *Vita*, ii. cap. 10, vol. sec. coll. 2426–27.

Beatus Bernardus cum esset die quadam in cella sua cum paucis discipulis, et ungeret sandalia sua secundum consuetudinem suam, apparuit ei diabolus in similitudinem monachi nigri, dicens ei: "Abba, quomodo te habes? Ego de longinquis terris veni ut te viderem, et te calceos ungentem invenio." Cui respondit vir Dei: "Ego servos non habeo, nec volui unquam habere. . . . Imitando igitur Dominum meum, vilia et servilia opera pro amore ipsius exsequi non tantum non gravat, sed et plurimum delectat." — *Vita*, iv. lib. 2, 16, col. 2508.

His rebuke to the monk who neglected to wash the pots in the kitchen when his weekly turn came is in the same column: "Fili, adeo negligens es, ubi majorem deberes habere diligentiam."

genial skies, they incessantly longed to get back thither; and one of his severest letters was written from Italy to a poor disciple who had been sent as abbot to the convent at Igny, but who was so homesick for Clairvaux that he gave up his place of honor and trust to return where his heart was. "The Almighty God spare thee!" says Bernard. "What is this that thou art set upon doing? Who would have believed that thou wouldst have rushed into this great wrong, a man endowed with so much goodness! How is it that a good tree brings forth from itself such detestable fruit?" He beseeches him, by Him who was crucified for him, to return to his work, and not add sadness upon sadness to one who already has enough on his heart.[1] The rebuked Humbert was not alone in his sense of exile. Eugenius Third, who had been a monk in the beautiful valley, went from it with tears to assume the duties and the dignities of the pontificate at Rome.[2]

Of course a monastery so helpful and so beloved continually increased in numbers and in fame. Eager applicants for admission flocked to it from all quarters, a hundred at a time, and it became necessary to rebuild it on a much larger scale.[3] Before the representations

[1] Epist. cxli. ad Humbertum, vol. prim. col. 350.

[2] Alloquitur fratres non sine lacrymis, miscens sermonibus avulsa a corde suspiria, hortatur et consolatur, et se inter eos fratrem et socium, non dominum exhibet, vel magistrum. Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. col. 2182.

[3] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. col. 2165.

Dans la première classe [of the inspiring heads of monastic orders] se trouve l'illustre S. Bernard, dont l'exemple pouvoit seul suffire à faire aimer toutes les sciences ecclésiastiques, et servir de modèle à les porter à un certain point de perfection. Il étoit effectivement, comme tout le monde sçait, Orateur, Théologien, Canoniste, et l'homme de son siècle qui possédât mieux l'Ecriture, et les Pères de l'Église, surtout S. Augustin, et qui fût plus instruit des règles de la Morale. À S. Bernard on pourroit

made to him to this effect, Bernard hesitated long, but at last he yielded, and the work was soon done. Spontaneous contributions flowed in abundantly, from the Count of Champagne, from the bishops around, from distinguished persons, and from merchants; the brother monks engaged in the work with joyful alacrity, cutting the logs, quarrying and squaring the stone and building it into walls, separating the stream into runlets by canals, until the work was finished, and, as the chronicler says, "the house arose, and the church, lately born, as if it had had a living and a moving soul, grew shortly to its completeness."[1] It was a beautiful scene which then was presented, with the grand pile of the abbey and its large subordinate buildings, overlooking a landscape of rich and various pastoral beauty, all protected by an authority greater than any which arms could offer; to those who dwelt in it a home of sacred pleasure and peace. Many colonies went from it, a hundred and sixty in Bernard's own life. The "Fountains' Abbey," so called, in Yorkshire, England, whose remains in their venerable beauty, with the ancient yew-trees and the admirable site, still attract travellers, was one of these offshoots. It is at least not impossible that the name "Fontaines' Abbey" should rather be given it, not so much for the springs on the spot, as in affectionate remembrance

joindre quelques-uns des plus célèbres Écrivains, entre cette multitude que produisit dans le cours de ce siècle l'Ordre de Cisteaux." Among these are mentioned Conrad, son of the Duke of Bavaria; Estienne, a renowned teacher in France; Alexandre, a famous Doctor of Cologne, afterward abbot of Clairvaux; Hugh, surnamed de Flavigni. And the historian adds: "Mais ils suffisent pour faire juger, que s'il étoit possible de recueillir tous les autres qui les imitèrent, soit en choisissant la même solitude, ou les autres Maisons de l'Ordre, le nombre en seroit prodigieux." Hist. Littér. tom. ix. pp. 122–123. Paris ed., 1750.

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. coll. 2165–66.

of the birth-place of Bernard.[1] Others were in Spain, Holland, Ireland, Germany, Saxony, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark, as well as in France. In the end there are said to have been eight hundred abbeys thus affiliated with Clairvaux, and adopting from it the rule of Citeaux. The mighty impulse to such rapid multiplication of the associated institutions came from Bernard, while his own monastery had within it at his death seven hundred monks.

Almost better than any other he exemplified whatever was morally fruitful in the monastic life, and overcame the dangers incident to it. To the laziness and the lust by which its rules were sometimes broken, in after years with increasing frequency, we cannot even conceive him tempted. It were as easy to think of bloody blotches on the sunshine. Even the more impalpable dangers, against which the wise had to be on their guard, seem not to have touched him. That there were such we abundantly know. Ambition for individual distinction was as easy to monks as to soldiers or statesmen. A certain cynical spiritual pride was sometimes fostered by their recluse life. A wild enthusiasm, alternating

[1] The tall tower, looking at a little distance as if belonging to a cathedral, is still in good preservation, but as you come nearer you find that all the rest of the spacious church is a mass of most picturesque ruin, with large trees growing in the nave, and ivy and wild flowers festooning the old Norman pillars and the beautiful lancet-shaped windows. The cloisters are very extensive, and still preserve their roofs, so that you walk through their whole range and look out through the windows at a beautiful stream which murmurs along among the ruins, and at twilight or moonlight it would not require a violent imagination to picture the forms of hooded monks stalking through the cloisters, or to hear a midnight mass pealing from the ruined choir of the beautiful chapel. . . . I shall say nothing further of this exquisite ruin, save to repeat that it is far the most impressive one that I have ever seen, and much more beautiful than Melrose Abbey. — *Correspondence of J. L. Motley*, vol. i. p. 350.

dismal sceptical doubts, by turns excited and manacled the spirit; and utter despair was not unfrequently the natural effect of mental reaction against their limitations, and of excessive self-contemplation. Always, of course, there was danger of that hypocritical temper which pretends to an unreal sanctity, and to which the abbey offered dangerous encouragement; while envies, jealousies, suspicions, animosities, sometimes fierce and fatal hatreds, were by no means excluded from the monastery grounds, but grew there sometimes the more rankly because men had to dwell together in a confined, inelastic companionship.

A text which has been occasionally quoted, as interpreting and justifying the impulse to monachism, is found in the first verse of the eighteenth chapter of Proverbs, which has been thus read: "Through desire a man having separated himself seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom." Unfortunately, the better translation is found to be: "He that separateth himself seeketh his own desire, and rageth against all wise counsel." This was as true in the twelfth Christian century as it had been when written; and one studying the long monastic story cannot but feel that a careful analysis of the various disbeliefs, and of the manifold and sometimes desperate spiritual maladies, which appeared in the convents, would make an even sadder record than that of the foulness of sensual vice which is often held their chief reproach; while it was evidently true, as the abbot Joachim said, himself familiar with the Cistercian abbeys, that if a monk became wicked, no creature on earth was more ambitious and covetous than he.[1] He was not merely blackened in repute by the contrast of his life with his profession, he fell to a profounder depth because of the

[1] See Neander, Hist. of Church, vol. iv. p. 244, note.

height of his earlier aim; and there was thereafter no fresh power of renovation to act upon him, such as might have been found in a freer and wider external life. He put himself almost beyond the pale of redemption; and the figures cut into cornices, capitals, and gargoyles of cathedrals not unfrequently show the vivid contemporaneous artistic recognition of the hideous viciousness of spirit and life which was partly hidden, but not effectually, beneath the cowl. It was not without reason that Fra Angelico, himself a monk, painted monks among the lost, or that Dante put some of them into the terrible panorama of the Inferno.

But from these dangers, even the subtlest, Bernard was preserved, not only by the grace of God in his sincere and ardent soul, but by his assiduous study of the Scripture, and by the multitudinous activities, within the convent and beyond it, which constantly engaged him. His was certainly never that "fugitive and cloistered virtue" which Milton reproved, "unexercised and unbreathed; that never sallies out and sees the adversary, but slinks out of the race, where the immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." When at home he preached every day, besides taking his faithful part in the customary labors. He wrote treatises, rich in the products of careful reflection, and with passages of remarkable beauty and power, as well as of high spiritual thought. His letter-writing was constant, of vast extent and variety, often concerning the gravest matters. Nearly five hundred of his letters are preserved. They were addressed to men of all classes and conditions, and on all sorts of subjects, from the highest themes of truth, duty, and Christian experience, to the humblest particulars of familiar affairs and of rustic economy. He wrote to the poor and obscure more largely than to

princes, sending letters of a dozen lines to the King of England, and of ten times as many pages to some weak monk who needed his counsel.[1] His visitors were many, and of the most distinguished of the time. His care of the monasteries affiliated with his own was incessantly watchful. His utmost energy was called for, and was exerted, in the successive crises which confronted him, in the Church, and in the State; and nothing seems to have occurred in France, or in other related countries, during the last thirty years of his life, concerning directly or indirectly the honor and interest of religion, which was not brought to his personal notice, on which his governing practical genius was not at once intensely busy.

So it was that that life in the monastery to which he had been devoted by his mother, and to which he had given himself with fervent consecration in his impassioned and brilliant youth, continued to be to him a joy and a reward, even to the end. He was permitted to end his days in the beautiful valley which he and his companions had rescued and redeemed from the forest and the swamp, and had turned into a home of culture and peace, of hospitality to the poor, of a solemn but to them a lovely religious service, which was never interrupted. The last sounds in his ears on earth were the voices of those whom he loved and had taught, bewailing his death, while still pursuing their daily worship. The last faces on which his eye rested were of men whom he had sheltered, guided, blessed. I do not imagine that he had the least thought of any fame to come to him in the world. Every traveller must have noticed at the Chartreuse, in the ancient Dauphiné, that when a monk has died the only memorial erected over him is a frail cross of

[1] Comp. epist. xcii. and cxxxviii. with ii., vii., *et al.*

lath, which the wind and the storm will swiftly destroy. The feeling beneath the custom evidently is that the man's only relations are to be thenceforth with the world of spirits, and that it is of no importance whatever that any record of him remain among men. Undoubtedly, that was the feeling of Bernard. It must have been a matter to him of supreme indifference whether men ever should hear of him or not. His only wish was to be able to say, in penitent humility, as his Master had said before him, "I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do."

A great fame has followed him, however, and it will not fail or be forgotten as the centuries pass. He certainly fulfilled the description of a great man given by Cousin,[1] representing what was noblest in the spirit of his age, while associating it profoundly with what was peculiar in his intense individuality. The monastery of Clairvaux, which was his immediate monument, has passed from existence; the many abbeys affiliated with it are generally in ruins, are all no doubt in hopeless decadence. The large influence which he left upon Europe has ceased to be distinguishable, save as one of the commingling elements out of which our civilization has come. But his soon canonized name has shone starlike in history ever since he was buried; and it will not hereafter decline from its height, or lose its lustre, while men continue to recognize with honor the temper of devoted Christian consecration, a character compact of noblest forces, and infused with self-forgetful love for God and man.

[1] Le grand homme n'est donc tel qu'à la double condition d'être pénétré de l'esprit général de son peuple, et en même temps de représenter cet esprit général sous une forme profondément individuelle ; tout cela dans cette juste mesure, qui est la marque de la vraie grandeur humaine. — *Introd. à l'Histoire de la Philosophie*, p. 204. Paris ed., 1868.

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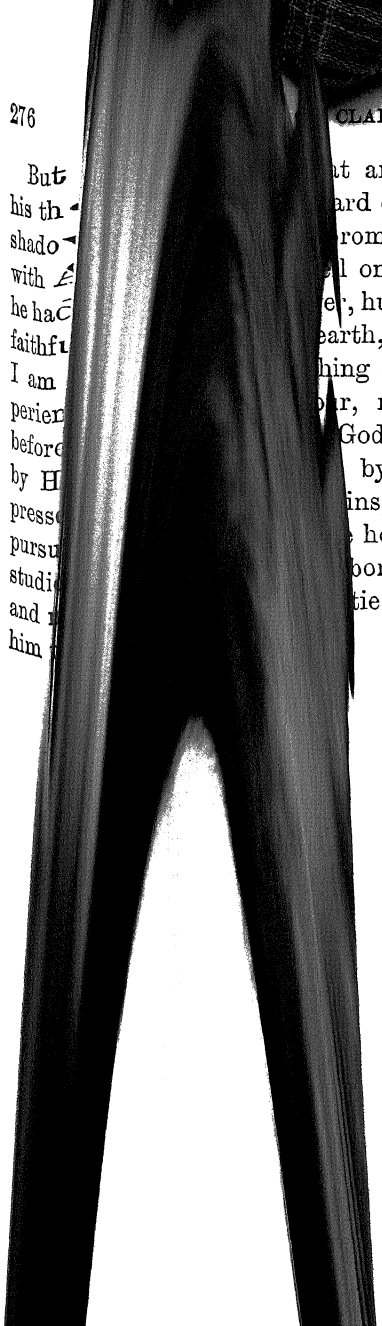

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LECTURE V.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: AS A THEOLOGIAN.

LECTURE V.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: AS A THEOLOGIAN.

If I were not profoundly assured of the culture and kindness, and the responsive Christian sensibility, of the audience which I have the honor to address, I should shrink from attempting to present this evening, in even a rapid synoptical way, the methods and results represented in the theology of Bernard. A subject less suited to what is known as a "popular lecture" can hardly be named; and while I hope that you may be interested in what I shall hereafter say of his work as a preacher, of his controversy with Abélard, or of his general influence upon Europe, I am unfeignedly diffident in asking your attention to his particular theological scheme. In parts, at least, this lies so far from the familiar lines of thought in our day that probably none of us would be ready to accept it without large reservations; and while in many things he who held it cannot but seem to us like one of ourselves, only with grander endowment of powers, and with a finer and higher spirit, in this he may seem to be widely and essentially distanced from us, dwelling in a realm of customary thought with which our minds are unacquainted.

But of course no view of him could be even approximately complete which should not present, in outline at least, the system of religious thought which was vital

and inspiring to his mind; and it cannot be without interest, or I hope without profit, for us to consider it. We are always glad to see the houses in which great men have lived, though we may not care to inhabit them ourselves; and no system of speculative thought, on the highest themes, which was dear and sacred to one like Bernard, can fail to command our honoring regard. The architecture which builds ideas into systems is certainly grander, and properly more memorable, than that which turns timbers and stones into houses. The personal attachments which cleave to such systems, and the influences which fall from them, are more intimate and essential than belong to any material structure; and when they have quickened great impulses, nurtured grand characters, been the instruments of mighty effects, we ought to learn if we may the secrets of their power, to get at least some positive impression of the charm which either of them had to him whose mind dwelt lovingly within it. So it is not with hesitation, except through doubt of my ability to open it clearly and largely enough, that I ask you to walk awhile with me in the stately corridors of that special scheme of theological thought which was supreme to the mind of Bernard, — surveying its proportions, considering the relations of its principal parts, and seeing the tinted and mullioned windows through which the light from above streamed in. Both the man and his work will certainly thus become better understood. It is not impossible that we shall more clearly apprehend the power which belonged to the Church in which he was recognized as "the last of the Fathers," and which later enrolled him among its saints.

It is needful at the outset to dismiss from our minds any lingering impression that the century which saw his

public career was one of intellectual stagnation, in which thought was dead, or in which discussions of even principal questions were unknown or uncommon. On the other hand, discussion was active and wide, and was relatively free; and the germs at least, or initial developments, of great theological and philosophical tendencies, which in subsequent centuries came to full exhibition, were already apparent. It is a fair measure of the activity of cultivated thought at that time in Europe, as compared with the previous centuries, that while a hundred and seventy-seven noticeable writers are reckoned as belonging to the ninth century, only eighty-four to the tenth, only a hundred and fifty to the eleventh, to the twelfth, the century of Bernard, belong two hundred and fifty-nine.[1] Of course all discussions of matters of importance were conducted in the Latin language, the language of laws and public documents, the language made familiar through the offices of the Church, and largely employed in letters, or even in conversation, among the better instructed.[2] The forms of such discussion were therefore scholastic; and the people found

[1] See Dr. H. B. Smith's "Chronological Tables," table vii. p. 36.

[2] Inter hæc tamen non extincta omnino Latina Lingua, licet in senium quodammodo abierit, totque etiam barbararum gentium colluvies hanc vel deturparit, vel absumpserit, cum neque post hac amplius usu hominum frequentaretur; hanc enim qui in literis utcumque versati fuere, vel sacris ordinibus initiati, ut rerum Ecclesiasticarum studiis necessariam excoluerunt. . . . Id porro non minime ad Latinæ Linguæ commendationem conducit, quod inter tot barbararum gentium ubique fere terrarum quasi exundationes se se utcumque servarit incolumem; ita ut Romana Ecclesia propriam sibi effecerit, et cæteræ nationes, etiam remotissimæ, et quas Romani nunquam attigerant, non in Scholis modo publicis, verum etiam in actis fere omnibus ea usi legantur. . . . Atque id quidem in Gallia nostra sic obtinuit, ut et acta publica ac privata pleraque, et suprema Curiarum judicia, Latino fere idiomate semper describerentur, quod serius delitum Francisco I. regnante. — Du Cange: *Præf. Gloss. Man.* § 35.

no expression for their thought unless dissenting wholly from the doctrines of the Church, refusing its liturgy, and resuming the liberty of their native tongue; as one of the most important memorials showing the early character of the Romance dialect, is a document of the Albigenses that yet presents it.[1] Of course, too, at that time, three centuries before the moveable type gave wings to words and opened the way for the instant utterance of any thought by any thinker, the number of those among the educated who took an important part in such discussions was always limited, that general and rapid comparison of views which now goes on being impossible.

But while these things are true it is true, also, that the period intervening between the commencement of the ninth and the close of the fifteenth centuries was pre-eminently the period in the Western Church for the articulation and systematic distribution of theological doctrine. That Church was no longer powerfully affected by the Eastern communions. It was left to organize doctrine for itself; and in the absence of impulse or key to the large and progressive exploration of nature, the mental and moral activity of the time turned, perhaps superabundantly, in this direction.[2] At that time, too, many questions were still un-

[1] "Après les serments de 842, un des plus anciens monuments de la langue romane, c'est la Noble Leçon des Vaudois, pieuse et simple paraphrase de maximes évangéliques. Là, rien n'indique absolument une hérésie dogmatique; mais on sent un esprit de libre examen et de conscience individuelle. Ces maximes sévères, cette morale pure, cette religion simple et s'exprimant en langue vulgaire, étaient communes à un grand nombre d'habitants du diocèse d'Albi; d'où vint le nom d'Albigeois." — VILLEMAIN: *Tableau de la Litt. au Moyen Age*, tom. i. p. 167, leçon vi. Paris ed., 1882.

[2] Les lettres latines furent cultivées avec soin dans les monastères anglais; et la théologie servit à ranimer le goût de l'étude. C'est une

determined by dogmatic decisions of the Church, which among Roman Catholics, at least since the Council of Trent, have no longer offered a field for discussion. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, for example, was not definitively settled for that communion until the Lateran Council of A. D. 1215. It was not, indeed, until the Synod of Vienne, A. D. 1311, that the doctrine was expressed in liturgical form, and the sacrifice of the Mass made the dominant centre of the Catholic ritual. That the sacraments of the Church were properly seven in number is said often to have been first publicly suggested by Otto of Bamberg, in or after the middle of the twelfth century;[1] and while a constantly increasing veneration

réponse à l'opinion de ceux qui ont regardé le règne de la théologie dans le moyen âge comme une époque perdue pour l'intelligence humaine. La théologie a été la forme que prenait alors la pensée. De même que, dans un autre temps, toutes les idées se traduiront en idées politiques, et s'appliqueront aux grands problèmes de la société; ainsi, dans le moyen âge, les esprits se faisant une occupation à la fois plus subtile et plus désintéressé, toutes les idées, toutes les forces du raisonnement s'appliquaient à la vie future. Mais par cela même que cette occupation toute métaphysique avait quelque chose de vague et d'incertain, elle avait aussi quelque chose de grand, de hardi, de singulièrement favorable à l'élévation et à l'originalité de la pensée. Ne vous étonnez donc pas que sous cet amas théologique on trouve parfois une étonnante sagacité, un grand esprit stérilement consumé. Le théologien d'une époque eût été le philosophe d'une autre. — VILLEMAIN: *Tableau de la Littérature au Moyen Age*, tom. ii. pp. 152–153. Paris ed., 1882.

[1] As late as the present period [age of Systematic Theology] the opinions of the theologians on this point [the number of the sacraments] were for a considerable time divided. Rabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus acknowledged only four sacraments, or, more properly speaking, only the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper [adding the Chrisma to Baptism, and dividing the Supper according to its two elements]. . . . Peter Damiani mentioned as many as twelve sacraments. Whether Otto, Bishop of Bamberg, introduced the seven sacraments among the Pomeranians is a point which remains to be investigated. The views of Peter Lombard on the subject were more decided. [He distinctly enumerates Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unc-

was paid to the Virgin Mary, the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception, without stain of original sin, which has now been declared an article of faith, was then earnestly, and for a long time successfully, resisted.

Indeed, the judgment of the Pontiff, the judgment of Church-councils, on points which had been presented for settlement, were held by many to be properly subject to subsequent discussion, and a different decision. The English Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grostête, preaching before the Papal Court at Lyons, A. D. 1250, a century later than Bernard, declared that when a pope is moved to do what is contrary to the precept and will of Christ, he who obeys him separates from Christ and from His body; and that whenever a universal obedience shall be paid to him in such things the universal apostacy will have come. The Pope, naturally enraged by such boldness of language, desired to displace and punish the bishop, but was unable to do it.[1] So William of St. Armour, Doctor of Theology in the Paris University, writing against the mendicant orders, A. D. 1255, did not

tion, Ordination, and Marriage.] Hagenbach's Hist. Christ. Doct., ii. p. 321–322. Edinburgh ed.

[1] Matthew Paris gives a letter written by the bishop to the Pope a little later, A. D. 1253, the freedom of which will appear from a few sentences: "Apostolica enim mandata non sunt nec esse possunt alia quam Apostolorum doctrinæ et Ipsius Domini nostri Jesu Christi. . . . Non est igitur prædictæ literæ tenor Apostolicæ sanctitati consonus, sed absonus plurimum et discors. . . . Hoc enim esset suæ potestatis evidenter sanctissimæ et plenissimæ vel defectio vel corruptio vel abusio, et a throno gloriæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi omnimoda elongatio, et in cathedra pestilentiæ pœnarum gehennalium duobus prædictis tenebrarum principibus proxima coassessio. Nec potest quis immaculata et sincera obedientia eidem sedi subditus et fidelis . . . hujusmodi mandatis vel præceptis vel quibuscunque conaminibus undecunque emanantibus, optemperare; sed necesse habet totis viribus contradicere et rebellare." The historian adds that the Pope was infuriated, but was dissuaded by the shrewder cardinals from pursuing the matter. — *Chronica Majora*, A. D. 1253.

hesitate to say that though their mode of life had been erroneously authorized by the Church, while in fact at variance with the Gospel, such judgment should be revoked, as the truth had now become better known, and as the judgment of the Roman Church was liable to correction. His book was condemned by the Pontiff, and he was constrained to resign his office, and to go into retirement in Burgundy; but he was reconciled with the successor of the then reigning Pope, and his bold declaration of the fallibility of the Church excited no general indignation.[1] There was thus a wider field in matters of theology open then for discussion than there has been in recent centuries in the Roman communion; and it was in great measure from the labors of those who then set forth and maintained their opinions that the subsequent authoritative dogmatic decisions, declaring against these opinions or for them, took occasion and form.

Even as early as the latter half of the ninth century had appeared a really revolutionary activity on the part of some, searching into, scrutinizing, and sharply reshaping the commonly received doctrines of the Church in regard to questions fundamental. Of this, John Scotus Erigena, at the court of Charles the Bald, is the palmary example. Surpassing, probably, every one of his time, if not all in the presently following centuries, in the audacity and the range of his genius, he reached novel conclusions with a rapid boldness which would seem incredible if the facts were not certain. A master of the Greek language, and familiar with the writings of the Greek Fathers as well as of the Latin, deeply impressed by his study of Origen, and of the Pseudo-Dionysius, the writings attributed to whom he had translated, a Neo-

[1] See Neander, Hist. of Church, vol. iv. pp. 283–289.

Platonist in his philospohical tendencies, he elaborated a scheme substantially pantheistic, though modified by the influence of his early belief in a personal God and in the Scriptures. He insisted that religion must justify itself to the reason of man, and that authority is properly insufficient to support it. In the rational consciousness of man was his ultimate source of religious knowledge. The absolute Being, in his view, transcends all representation, is by nature incomprehensible. The Scriptural account of God is a symbolic representation, adapted to the succor of human weakness. Religion is philosophy, veiled in traditions with which the higher minds dispense. The statements that God loves or can be loved, acts or can be acted upon, are but relatively true, a condescension to human infirmity. God alone is, eternal and inexpressible; and true being in everything is God. Evil is therefore only apparent, the background on which the lustre of goodness is displayed. The conception of it arises from contemplation of particulars, instead of the whole. What is called sin is a transition-point in human experience, through which men pass into final union with the Divine archetype. It is a self-abolishing principle, which for God has no existence. He does not punish it, but so constitutes the order of things that it punishes itself. The Scriptural report of its punishment is figurative, and the belief in such punishment is a human prejudice. Faith is a certain subjective principle, from which the conviction of the Absolute is derived in a reasonable creature; and salvation essentially consists in believing what we can rationally affirm concerning the original of all things, and in comprehending what we believe. "Father" and "Son" are names to which no corresponding distinctions exist in the Divine Essence; and the eucharist is a sym-

bolic memorial of Christ's death. Of any papal infallibility he seems to have had no thought whatever.

It may naturally surprise us that doctrines like these could be enunciated in France, in the presence of the hierarchy, in the last half of the ninth century. But they were largely protected by their novelty, and by the failure of officials to recognize their meaning, or to see how destructive to the whole Church-system their tendencies were. If their author had written in the Gaelic or the Coptic dialect the continental ecclesiastics would almost equally have understood what he wrote. It simply surpassed the apprehension of the time, was wholly beyond its sphere of thought; and though antagonists appeared, and his writings were at a later time pontifically condemned,[1] he seems to have remained in personal security, and at last to have died in peace. But, in fact, the whole energy of a rationalizing scholasticism, acting upon theological opinion as a dissolving and recasting force, had prophetically appeared in him. He would probably have had disciples and successors in the same line of thought, in the following century, if it had not been a period of such universal turbulence and decay. He did have them subsequently, as partly in Almaric, or David of Dinanto. But in the slow development of history he stands before us alone in his time; an enigmatic man; coming as unexpectedly as a meteor bursting in the air. As sometimes out of January darkness and chill a shining day sallies to meet us, as if to assure us that summer is coming, so he appears, a vivid herald of the freedom in thought, the energetic and daring speculative genius, which, after centuries of tempestuous chill and the echoing whirl of social storms,

[1] His tract on the eucharist was condemned at Rome, and ordered to be burned A. D. 1059.

were again to be seen in Europe. His results we may none of us, probably, accept. His immense and intrepid mental activity we cannot but honor.[1]

The discussion started in the same century by Gottschalk, a monk educated at Fulda, on the twofold Pre-

[1] The impression made by this extraordinary writer has always been powerful, but has varied naturally with the temper of his readers: —

"Ceux qui ont mieux connu Scot avouent à la vérité qu'il avoit de l'érudition, mais une érudition toute profane. Qu'au reste ce n'étoit dans le fond qu'un Sophiste plein de subtilité et de hardiesse; un grand Discoureur, qui par l'étalage de ses vains discours avoit séduit grand nombre de personnes." — *Hist. Litt.*, tom. v. p. 417. [This judgment is an echo of the statement of Flore Diacre, p. 229, who wrote in reply to Erigena.]

The emphatic yet temperate words of Dr. Christlieb will commend themselves to most: "Dass die Universalität seines Geistes, durch die er als Theolog und Philosoph, als Homilet, Exeget, Uebersetzer und sogar als Dichter auftreten konnte, sein scharfer Verstand, seine überlegene dialektische Gewandtheit, seine vielgepriesene Beredtsamkeit, seine damals wohl beispiellose Gelehrsamkeit, und besonders seine Kenntniss der griechischen Sprache und Literatur bei allen, die ihm nahe standen, oder ihn aus seinen Schriften kennen zu lernen sich die Mühe nahmen, die grösste Bewunderung erregen musste und noch muss, mag die Darstellung seiner Lehre beweisen; sie wird ihm auch von der Mehrzahl der alten Geschichtschreiber nicht verweigert; musste doch selbst Papst Nicolaus anerkennen, dass E. multæ scientiæ esse prædicatur." — *Leben und Lehre des J. Scotus Erigena.* Gotha, 1860. S. 59.

"Jean Scot avait puisé dans ce commerce [translating Dionysius] une foule d'idées depuis longtemps perdues en Europe et qui parurent bien nouvelles lorsqu'il les produisit dans ses deux ouvrages. Comme ses idées n'avaient de racines ni dans les études ni dans les tendances du temps, elles l'étonnèrent plus qu'elles ne l'intruisirent, et de nos jours elles ont ébloui ceux qui n'en connaissaient pas l'origine. Jean Scot n'est point un profond métaphysicien, comme on le croit en Allemagne, c'est tout simplement un Alexandrin attardé, qui aurait dû naître trois ou quatre siècles plus tôt ou plus tard." — COUSIN: *Hist. Gén. de la Philosophie*, p. 222. Paris ed., 1867.

Ritter says of him: "He stands as an enigma among the many riddles which these times present." See also Hagenbach, Hist. of Doct., ii. 117.

For some illustrations of his general scheme of thought see Appendix A, p. 348.

destination, to evil as to good, moved of course within narrower lines, and exhibited far less of brilliancy of mind and discursive power, though Erigena took an active part in it; but it showed, at least in him by whom it was commenced, and in those who continued it, — whether agreeing with him, or encountering him with the higher idea of universality in the august provisions of Redemption, — how active thought was in important directions, and how capable was the mind of the time of being stirred by questions which touch the equities of the Divine government, and which can never be fully answered till we can compass Eternal counsels.

The same thing appears from the later controversy in which Berengar of Tours, to whom I have already referred, became a principal figure, which concerned the real presence of Christ in the elements of the Supper. As head of the Cathedral school in his native city, Berengar had attracted many pupils, and had acquired large influence with them by his various learning, his amiable piety, his courtesy of manner, and his spirit of mental independence. Somewhere about the middle of the eleventh century he began to teach that not the true body and blood of Christ, but only their symbols, are in the eucharist. He insisted that not Erigena only, but Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose had held this doctrine, and were heretics with himself if this were heretical. Under constraint of an adverse judgment of the Pope and a Council, and in fear for his life, he recanted his opinions. But he subsequently again proclaimed them widely, and exercised great liberty of speech as against the Church rulers, declaring that Leo Ninth had shown himself a fool in this matter as in others, that he was a Pompifex, not a Pontifex, and that the Roman Church

was not an apostolic see, but a seat of Satan.[1] The minority of disciples, however small, holding the truth, he declared to constitute the true Church, and not the multitude of the undiscerning. Gregory Seventh, whether as cardinal or as pope, seems to have been personally friendly to him; but after his final trial at a Synod in Rome, he retired to a solitary life, and died at an advanced age three years before Bernard was born.

He could not, of course, accomplish much against the strong currents of Church opinion by which he was beset, and he had neither the genius of Erigena nor the undaunted boldness of Gottschalk, though he seems in the main to have fought a good fight. The doctrine of Transubstantiation was once described by John Selden as "only Rhetoric turned into Logic."[2] But it had a far deeper foundation than that. It had begun in pious feeling, associating a supernatural grace with the elements of the Supper until these were transfigured. It offered a wholly transcendental conception of the nature of the eucharist, and represented to the minds which received it millions of miracles, incessantly repeated. So it drew to itself not only a sentiment of tender devoutness, but the imaginative affection and enthusiasm of those to whose thought the supernatural was near. Though at first set forth, therefore, by a single abbot, Paschasius Radbertus, as late as the year A.D. 831, it was so consonant with the feeling of the time, it blended itself so easily and so intimately with the aspiring consciousness of Christians, and it seemed to

[1] "Nempe sanctum Leonem papam, non pontificem, sed pompificem et pulpificem, appellavit. . . . Romanam sedem non apostolicam sed sedem satanæ dictis et scriptis non timuit appellare." (Letter of a contemporary, quoted by Neander, vol. iii. p. 513, note.)

[2] Table Talk, p. 255. London ed., 1860.

bring the Lord so palpably before them, that it gained an ever widening power until it became a dogma of faith. But how much Berengar could accomplish for his opinion is not the matter now before us. What we have to notice is the fact that he both thought and wrote so freely as he did; and that in the generation preceding Bernard this positive conception of a spiritual church, embracing those morally affiliated by their common reception of spiritual truth, was distinctly presented, while the Reformed doctrine of the sacraments was in essence vigorously maintained. This, of itself, suffices to show that the time was not one of mental stagnation. Rather, it was marked by fermenting forces, some of which carried men much further than Berengar had gone in divergence from the customary doctrine.

I have mentioned already the utter unbelief afterward ascribed to the German emperor, Frederick Second. Notice is taken too by Neander of a Count of Soissons, who, though outwardly recognizing the festivals of the Church, ridiculed and assailed the whole scheme of the Christian Religion, often by arguments derived from the Jews; against whom an abbot wrote a book, defending the doctrine of the Incarnation.[1] Others, distinctly disbelieved in any Resurrection; and a Bishop of Paris, A. D. 1196, ordered a card to be laid on his breast, after his death, affirming his belief in it, as a testimony to those who should view his body. In the school of theological instruction at Orléans, in the eleventh century, as I have previously noticed, an actual Gnosticism had come to be taught; and ecclesiastics prominent for benevolence, knowledge, piety, had suffered death on behalf of these opinions with a supreme courage. Similar doctrines had appeared later at Liège and Cambrai, and

[1] Neander, Hist. of the Church, vol. iv. p. 325.

still later at Turin, where the Son of God was declared to be the soul of man, enlightened and renewed; the Holy Spirit to mean the true understanding of the Scriptures; and where the Gospel history of the Lord was treated as a myth. The Catharists, the Henricians, the Petrobrusians, all widely diverging from the doctrine of the Church if not scornfully rejecting it, not only were numerous in France, but they multiplied so rapidly, especially in the South, that Bernard, going into regions affected by their opinions, found, as he said, "churches without people, peoples without priests, priests without respect paid to them, Christians without Christ; churches were regarded as synagogues, the sanctuary of God was not esteemed holy, the solemn festivals were not observed; men were dying in their sins, and called to the great final Tribunal, neither reconciled to God by penitence, nor fortified by the sacrament." [1] This naturally seemed to him a spiritual calamity, more frightful than any of pestilence or of war.

It cannot be needful to multiply examples to show how far his age was from being one of passive quiescence, or of universal acquiescence in the customary beliefs. The spirit of unrest was widely abroad; and among men of more scholarly habit, the temper of free if not sceptical inquiry exhibited by Roscelin the nominalist, and more signally by Abélard, of whom I am to speak hereafter, was coming to prominent manifestation. Yet over against these tendencies hostile to the entire

[1] Basilicæ sine plebibus, plebes sine sacerdotibus, sacerdotes sine debita reverentia sunt, et sine Christo denique Christiani. Ecclesiæ synagogæ reputantur; sanctuarium Dei sanctum esse negatur; sacramenta non sacra consentur; dies festivis frustrantur solemniis. Moriuntur homines in peccatis suis; rapiuntur animæ passim ad tribunal terrificum, heu! nec pœnitentia reconciliati, nec sancta communione muniti. — *Opera*, vol. prim. epist. cxli. col. 506.

Church-system, was set a fresh and wide activity, in study and thought as well as in action, on the part of those who maintained the old and common faith. The fuller pulses of Church-life, which from the time of Gregory Seventh had been felt throughout the Latin communion, showed themselves here, as well as in the building of churches and monasteries, the initiation of crusades, or the missions to pagan peoples. The brain of the Church, as well as its heart, was charged with new force; and the elements of future vehement controversies were already battling in the stimulated air. The seminaries which had been established for the theological education of students, at Fulda, at Chartres, Tours, Rheims, Bec, and elsewhere, were revived and invigorated; lectures were given in exposition of the Scriptures; and the Glossa Ordinaria, the common exegetical manual of the time, was widely copied. The Irish schools, long distinguished for their relative freedom and breadth, were as active as ever; and on all sides questions of doctrine were canvassed and discussed with ardent zeal, if not always with fine or high intelligence.

The foundation of the Universities occurred at this time; the abbot of Croyland, as I have said, commencing that at Cambridge, in a barn, in A. D. 1110; that at Oxford having begun, probably, a little earlier, in the schools of its religious houses, but now coming to fresh importance, especially in connection with the instruction in the Scriptures given there by Robert Pullein, a man English-born but educated in France, and afterward a distinguished theologian and cardinal.[1] The primary impulse to the University of Paris came in the same period, from the famous lectures of William of Champeaux; and Anselm, who finished his illustrious

[1] His lectures began there A. D. 1133.

career in A. D. 1109, Peter Lombard, who was contemporaneous with Bernard, Hugo of St. Victoire, called afterward "the Second Augustine," with, a little later, John of Salisbury, represent sufficiently the power and skill, and the devout sensibility, which were enlisted in doctrinal research. In the century following, Thomas Aquinas, the "Angelical Doctor," and Bonaventura, the "Seraphical Doctor," carried on the succession, and brought it to what seemed its splendid climax. They were themselves the vital product of spiritual forces which already were working, with a prophesying energy, in the day of Bernard.

In endeavoring to place him in our thought among such men, there are some things which, in fairness to him, should be distinctly borne in mind. One is that his genius was sensitive and practical, rather than dialectical, sympathetic with truth, and with truth in mysterious forms and relations, rather than patient and profound in analysis. With a feminine intensity of spirit, a deep and delicate moral sensibility, and a rich spiritual experience, the philosophical power was yet not so pronounced in him as in some others. Another thing to be equally remembered is this: that in harmony with this temper he had always in view a supreme practical end, the leading of men to the highest attainments in that Divine Life in which his own progress was assiduous and illustrious. And a third thing is, that he was constantly engaged in administrative affairs, which to him appeared of vast importance. Not only in his monastery, not only in constant care and oversight of the connected monasteries, but in the public affairs of the time, in the counselling of kings, the election and enthronement of popes, the discipline of the Order of Templars, the giving vast impulse to crusades, he was absorbingly engaged;

and scant time was left for the searching, fundamental, exhaustive examination of the immense problems which theology presents. If we fail, therefore, to find in him the extraordinary power of metaphysical analysis, with philosophical co-ordination of ascertained conclusions, which Anselm showed for example, or Aquinas afterward, we need not be surprised. His life, on the whole, seems to me among the noblest phenomena of his age; but I by no means affirm that in the department of original and enlightening theological speculation he had not superiors.

He is, in fact, chiefly important, in this direction, as representing in its best form, and with a halo projected upon it from his radiant spiritual life, the doctrine which he had learned in his youth, which seemed to him confirmed by experience and illumined by the Scripture, and in which his soul found nourishment, rest, and exaltation. He left no "Summa Theologiæ." What he believed has to be gathered from manifold passages, associated in thought, but not in the order or time of composition, which are distributed through his writings. It was not a scheme developed by himself through logical processes, but one which had been borne in upon him, by his early instruction, by his affectionate study of the Scripture, and by his high meditation, until it had become a part of his life, mingling itself in inseparable union with all that was best in his experience and his hope. One might almost say that, the authority of the Scripture being conserved, the practical criterion of truth was to him in its power and tendency to bring man's spirit nearer to God. I do not see how any doctrine failing to do this could have got sure hold on his mind. Because the doctrine which he had early accepted, as interpreted by his imagination and heart, seemed to him

signally to do this, he held and loved it with the entire force of his nature. He was intensely, though not timidly, conservative of it; and he looked with a certain sensitive jealousy, born of a deep and controlling affection, on anything which might tend to lower its dignity or obscure its splendor before the eyes of the world.

This is really the significance of the title which I have mentioned as affectionately given him, "The last of the Fathers;" while Anselm, on the other hand, though the profoundest theologian of his time, is also fairly to be regarded as the first, and among the greatest, of the schoolmen. He differed from Bernard not in purpose or spirit, but in the proportion and balance of his powers, the acutest understanding being united in him with a sensitive conscience, and a heart charged with profound feeling. He sought always to give an account to the rational nature of that transcendent Divine system which was to him as certain as the earth, while vastly grander in its substance and its relations; in whose discovery of God his heart rejoiced. As the example of a sincere, devout, and most educating thinker, along lines essentially difficult and new, perhaps no one in history is more eminent than he, whose genius we certainly cannot equal, but whose piety and thoughtfulness are not beyond our eager aspiration.

In Bernard the same elements were combined, but with greater preponderance of devout feeling, and a less energetic and masterful development of the questioning and constructive understanding. He held strongly to what was established, in doctrine as in institutions. He accepted, without reserve, the system of Christianity as it had come to him from the past, as it seemed to him set forth in the Scripture, as it was associated with the deepest and subtlest longings and attainments of his

spiritual nature. He believed it because he felt it. H could truly say of it, "All my springs are in thee; and therefore doubts did not disturb him, even efforts t show religion reasonable appeared to him superfluou if not indicative of a too daring confidence in the nati mental power of man. Perhaps he was not as patie toward such, or as sympathetically considerate of then as he might well have been. The modern tendency ce tainly does not move in a line with his. It may even fir much in his attitude antipathetic with its own. But w have to recognize facts as they meet us; and it is as suc an essential conservative in his whole relation to th doctrine which had quickened, moulded, and exalted h spirit, that he asks our attention. I do not know bu this adds to his significance, as an exponent of the th ological opinion prevalent in his time among men lik himself. I certainly do not feel that it detracts from th homage always due him for his fearless sincerity.

That he was a firm and fervent supernaturalist, in h conception of religious truth, need not be said. It woul have seemed just as credible to him that man had bui the sun and stars as that he had framed the Gospel c Christ out of fancies and myths; as credible that h human ingenuity the sunshine had been braided, as tha from will or wit of man had come that supernal heavenl energy which lifted him sweetly and surely towar God. But within this general range of conception, con mon in his time, and common with Christian disciple since, he had his own place, a beautiful and high plac Not dryly logical, nor on the other hand philosophicall discursive, the warmth of his heart, and the imaginativ glow of his mind, gave light and color to all his systen and made it so essentially noble and effulgent that it co tinually allures our study. He did not consciousl

clothe fancies with authority; but the intuitions of faith, or what appeared such, were easily articulated as dogma. High poetic and spiritual conceptions seemed naturally invested with supernal sanctions. He did not mistake reverie-mists for self-luminous stars; but the sphere of truth had to him an atmosphere about it full of tints and sunny splendors, in contemplating which his soul delighted, and by which the truth seemed freshly verified. He was, if we may express it in a sentence, a contemplative yet a most practical Mystic; apprehending secret sublimities in truth, before which forms of words are weak, and thought itself innately infirm; feeling an occult life in the Christian truth, which analysis cannot grasp, any more than the hand can clutch the sunbeam; yet preserved from extravagance by his study of the Scriptures, by that constant activity which kept his mind alert and watchful, and by that earnest Christian love, and that eager desire to bless mankind, which kept his heart faithful and sound. If we so apprehend him, I think he is before us in his general position; and further particular examination of his views becomes a matter of easy study.

The Scriptures were, of course, supreme with him, as read in the common Latin version; and the doctrine that the writers of the Scripture had been so instructed, directed, illumined by the Divine mind, that they spoke with entire authority, was simply the premise on which his entire system rested.[1] But, in common with other

[1] Nam quidquid in Scripturis spiritualiter sentiebat, maxime in silvis et in agris meditando et orando se accepisse confitebatur; et in hoc nullos aliquando se magistros habuisse, nisi quercus et fagos joco illo suo gratioso inter amicos dicere solebat. . . . Canonicas autem Scripturas simpliciter ac seriatim libentius ac sæpius legebat; nec ullis magis quam ipsarum verbis eas intelligere se dicebat, et quidquid in eis divinæ sibi elucebat veritatis aut virtutis, in primæ sibi originis fonte magis, quam in decur-

Mystics, he regarded this Divine illumination as not confined to the sacred writers, though pre-eminent in them. He conceived a real though a subordinate inspiration to abide in the mind of the faithful disciple, especially of such as were called to great trusts, or set to be the teachers of others. The supernatural element was always proximate to his thought. He lived in it, in a true sense; and while those from whose pens the Scriptures had come had authority for him, the present witness of the Spirit in the soul, and in the continuing response to the truth on the part of the Church, was also an immediate Divine fact supplemental to this. He would not have said, as Abélard said, as we shall see hereafter, that the prophets had sometimes failed in their gifts, and had uttered erroneous things, that even the Apostles had been by no means exempt from error. But he most surely and practically held that a state of superhuman exaltation is now attainable, in which the mind, by the eye of contemplation, once closed by sin but now opened by grace, transcends the finite, discerns intuitively supernal verities, and is at one with the mind of God. Because of this the great Fathers of the Church had for him an authority almost co-ordinate with that of Apostles; not defined by the number and weight of their arguments, but derived from that intuition of God which he conceived them to have possessed. And because of this the common controlling interpretation of the Scriptures prevailing in the Church appeared to him doubly warranted, — by the sacred writings, and by the under-

rentibus expositionum rivis sapere testabatur. Sanctos tamen et orthodoxos earum expositores humiliter legens, nequaquam sensibus eorum suos sensus æquabat, sed subjiciebat formandos; et vestigiis eorum fideliter inhærens, sæpe de fonte, unde illi hauserant, et ipse bibebat. — *Opera*, Vita ii. cap. x. 32, vol. sec. col. 2427.

il obtient la trité commune UT à un tiers de ton au-d
paramèse; il a eu la paranète enharmonique UT en
tierce mineure de la mèse, et la paranète chromatiqu
tant un ton à partir de la mèse.

Ceci suppose l'emploi d'une note supérieure. Soier
l'hyperhypate (*sol*), l'hypate (*la*), la mèse (*re*), la para
la nète (*la*).

[Suivent ces quelques mots à peine lisibles, écrits sans doute à l
être développés ultérieurement :

Montré *sol-ut* (quarte) *sol.* division de la quarte *sol-u*
et FA; pour *sol* SI^{b} *ré* et FA-*la;* il a les paranètes enhar
(lire chromatiques) *la mi si* et *si fa**, les paranètes en
ques.]

GAMME D'ARCHYTAS[1]

MÈSE — LA

Paranète disj. diaton. *ré*

Système disjoint

MÈSE.....	LA	quatre
PARAMÈSE.....	SI	
Trite disj.....	*ut*	
Paranète disj. diat..	*ré*	

MÈSE — LA
1 ton
PARAMÈSE SI
1/3
Trite disj. *ut*
paranète *ré*
disj. diat.

Système conjoint
MÈSE — LA
Trite conj. enh. *la* +
Trite conj. chrom.
et diat. SI *bémol*
(= paran. conj. enh.)
paran. conj. chrom. SI *bécarre*
— diat. *ut*
NÈTE conj. RÉ

Mais déjà s'était introduite l'idée théorique qu'il n'y ava
de consonances en dehors de celles liées aux rapports prin

1. Nous introduisons ici un tableau récapitulatif (*C. E. R.*)

ment admis, et Archytas ne put faire attribuer à cette tierce le rang qu'elle méritait mieux que la quarte. Il n'en reste pas moins assuré que la détermination d'Archytas, certainement fondée sur l'expérience, doit être considérée comme vraie pour la gamme d'Olympos. Nous devons donc assigner à ses notes exactement la même valeur qu'à celle de notre gamme des physiciens, et reconnaître, dans leurs intervalles, ceux-là mêmes que pratiquent les musiciens modernes :

MI *fa* LA SI *ut* MI

MI (3/4) — demi-ton majeur *fa* (4/5) — tierce majeure LA (1) — ton majeur SI (9/8) — demi-ton majeur *ut* (6/5) — tierce majeure MI (3/5).

La tierce enharmonique avait été sans doute, dès avant Aristoxène, comparée au ton majeur (9/8) donné par l'intervalle LA-SI ; le diton ainsi formé (81/64) est supérieur d'un *comma* 81/80 à la tierce majeure qui, en effet, est composée, non pas de deux tons majeurs, mais d'un ton majeur et d'un ton mineur ($5/4 = 9/8 \times 10/9$).

Que l'on ait, au moins théoriquement, prétendu constituer le genre enharmonique avec l'intervalle de deux tons majeurs pour le faire concorder avec la nuance du diatonique syntone (celui du *Timée*), il y en a une preuve suffisante dans l'accord à cet égard des *canoniciens* que nous connaissons, et aussi dans la conception d'Eratosthène. Celui-ci, guidé certainement par des idées théoriques, puisqu'alors le genre enharmonique était tombé en désuétude, voulant avoir un rapport plus simple que 81/64, prend 19/15, qui en est très voisin, mais un peu plus grand. Didyme et Ptolémée reviendront au contraire aux nombres d'Archytas.

Quant à Aristoxène, il est certain qu'il entendait par *diton* une

tierce [majeure] tempérée; mais comme la différenc
intervalle et la somme de deux tons majeurs est de
demi-comma, il ne pouvait, dans la pratique, faire auc
tion. La tierce enharmonique valait donc pour lui
majeurs, et il admettait (c'était en tout cas son erreur
détermination valait pour la gamme d'Olympos.

Cependant il avait pu entendre et étudier, au moi
nuance particulière, celle où la tierce était plus p
comma, c'est-à-dire celle qu'Archytas avait détermin
nous devons considérer comme la véritable gamme d
Seulement il ne la dénommait pas comme enharmoni
classait comme *chromatique* (mol). On connaît la div
artificielle qu'il donne pour les tétracordes en douzième

Enharmonique.....	3	3	24
Chromatique mol.....	4	4	22
Chromatique hémiole.....	4 1/2	4 1/2	21
Chromatique tonié.....	6	6	18

Il est évident que le chromatique mol est beaucoup pl
de l'enharmonique que du chromatique type ou tonié.
quons maintenant que nous n'avons pas à nous inquiéte
coupes du pycnon[1], et que par rapport à la tierce supér
suffit de considérer l'étendue qu'il embrasse, depuis
jusqu'à un ton, en passant par les degrés de 2/3 et 3/4
Dans le second de ces intervalles (comme aussi dans le dia
mol) nous retrouvons le *spondiasme surtendu;* l'intervalle
n'est-il pas un *spondiasme mol?*

Pour apprécier la valeur des déterminations d'Aristoxène
sons-leur celles que donne le calcul pour les divisions de la
qui peuvent correspondre à la pratique des modernes.

1. Somme des deux intervalles graves d'un tétracorde dans les
enharmonique et chromatique (*C. E. R.*)

Les logarithmes des rapports numériques, rapportés à l'unité d'Aristoxène (trentième de la quarte), ont les valeurs suivantes, avec une approximation qui dépasse de beaucoup ce qui est nécessaire.

1,30	Comma (différence du ton majeur au ton mineur).	1 1/4
2,48	Comma maxime (différence du demi-ton majeur au demi-ton mineur).....	2 1/2
4,27	Demi-ton mineur (dièse des physiciens 25/24).....	4 1/4
6,72	Demi-ton majeur.....	6 3/4
10,99	Ton mineur.....	11
12,29	Ton majeur.....	12 1/4

Après la subdivision de la quarte suivant le tempérament harmonique d'Aristoxène, nous pouvons considérer les suivantes :

(A) Demi-ton majeur et tierce majeure (enharmonique d'Archytas).....	6 3/4 et	23 1/4
(B) Ton mineur. Tierce mineure (chromatique d'Eratosthène, Didyme, mol de Ptolémée).....	11	19
(D) Ton majeur. Tierce mineure diminuée (chromatique d'Archytas, tonié de Ptolémée).....	12 1/4	17 3/4

La dernière de ces divisions correspond certainement au chromatique tonié d'Aristoxène ; mais, malgré l'écart des nombres, peut-on identifier les deux autres avec les chromatiques mol et hémiole qu'il indique?

Il faut tenir compte de l'imperfection de ses procédés de recherche et avant tout ne pas se faire l'illusion que, doué d'une oreille exceptionnelle, il ait pu réellement distinguer les uns des autres des intervalles différant seulement d'un douzième, ou même d'un vingt-quatrième de ton comme le supposerait sa division du chromatique hémiole. Aristoxène, en fait, prétend seulement qu'on peut, à partir d'une note donnée, en prendre une autre à un ton d'intervalle et diviser ce ton en deux, en trois ou en quatre parties égales. Les douzièmes ne s'introduisent que

comme différence (théorique) du tiers au quart de t
tiers et quarts suffisent à Aristoxène pour comparer
corde avec les instruments des exécutants, car s'il n
une concordance suffisante, il rejette comme irrationn
les divisions pratiquées.

En ce sens, on peut dire que le chromatique mol c
est une nuance purement théorique qui n'a jamais ex
sons qu'il ait eu entre les mains un instrument très
accordé suivant l'enharmonique d'Olympos ou d'Arch
aura constaté que l'intervalle du *pycnon* était cor
1/2 et 1/3 de ton, donc pour lui irrationnel. Mais en m
constatant l'existence d'une nuance très voisine de so
nique théorique et voulant la classer, il l'a dénomm
chromatique mol en fixant à deux tiers de ton l'int
pycnon, et certains instruments, moins exactement acc
pu se rapprocher suffisamment pour lui de ce type thé
ce sens, on peut dire que l'enharmonique d'Archytas
senté par le chromatique mol d'Aristoxène.

Mais si l'on admet qu'il ait commis des erreurs dans
opérations successives de la détermination du ton et de
vision en trois ou quatre parties (hypothèse certainem
vraisemblable), on doit évidemment attribuer une vale
coup moins grande encore aux chiffres qu'il donne. Enfin
se demander s'il a exécuté lui-même les expériences que
sa théorie ou s'il n'a pas plutôt interprété sans une critiq
sante des résultats énoncés par d'autres avant lui.

Prenons en particulier la conception du chromatique
Le *pycnon* en est défini comme étant le *pycnon* de l'e
nique, augmenté de sa moitié (c'est-à-dire, d'après Aris
du quart de ton). Les conséquences qu'il en déduit cond
un résultat tellement voisin de la division du chromatiq

qu'il est bien difficile de croire à la distinction pratique des *nuances*. Mais admettons que la nuance *hémiole* ait été définie par un harmonicien partant du *pycnon* réel de l'enharmonique d'Olympos, 6 3/4. Ajoutons la moitié 3 3/8, nous avons 10 1/8, c'est-à-dire, à environ un tiers de comma près, le ton mineur de notre division (B).

Ces remarques suffisent, ce me semble, pour montrer que si l'on met à part la question de la division du *pycnon,* laquelle a certainement introduit dans les diverses nuances enharmoniques et chromatiques de l'ancienne musique grecque des notes étrangères à notre tonalité moderne, celle-ci doit suffire amplement pour expliquer les différentes nuances dont le témoignage d'Aristoxène nous assure l'existence réelle, mais dont sa théorie nous fait très mal comprendre l'essence. En fait, il a pu y avoir seulement deux nuances enharmoniques, caractérisées par les intervalles de tierce majeure augmentée et tierce majeure juste, et deux nuances chromatiques (tierce mineure juste et tierce mineure diminuée).

Revenons au *spondiasme.* Il suit de ce qui précède qu'Aristoxène devait regarder comme *spondiasme* μαλακώτερος l'intervalle si-*ut* de la vraie gamme d'Olympos, mais en y voyant probablement un intervalle irrationnel. Il admettait comme rationnel un *spondiasme* surtendu de trois quarts de ton, qui devait plutôt, comme nous venons de le voir, être équivalent à notre ton mineur. Admettait-il en outre un *spondiasme* rationnel intermédiaire, comme par exemple celui de deux tiers de ton (deux demi-tons mineurs)? Il le faisait peut-être au point de vue théorique, mais cela n'a point d'intérêt quand il s'agit de la pratique concernant des airs primitifs.

Je dois cependant revenir sur une objection qui se présente naturellement. La différence que je suppose entre le *spondiasme*

surtendu et le ton majeur n'est que d'un comma ; pose d'une dièse. L'erreur est-elle bien possible ? Il ment admettre que le théoricien a été induit en e doctrine du *pycnon* hémiole et qu'il a simplement différence sensible entre les deux notes, sans mesu ment cette différence.

Faut-il s'en étonner, lorsque de nos jours encore tant de difficultés dans la détermination réelle de musicaux? En dehors du fait empirique, que pratic intervalles ne sont jamais rigoureusement justes (ce exprimait déjà en disant qu'il y a une certaine larg son), notre théorie offre une nomenclature si amb éprouve une réelle difficulté à s'entendre sur les vale ques des notes, quoique au fond la question soit assez précise sur l'exemple de la gamme d'Olympos :

Les notes de cette gamme donnent deux accords pa un mineur et un majeur, qu'indique le diagramme ci-d

(RE) LA MI SI
fa *ut*

Si on dièse l'*ut* (ce qui semble devoir entraîner qu soit aussi), ces deux accords parfaits sont intervertis.

fa dièse *ut dièse*
LA MI SI

Mais en réalité, sans parler de l'*ut dièse* du tempéran en a trois différents qui appartiennent aux tonalités mode

D'abord, l'*ut dièse* des physiciens, 25/24, haussé d'un mineur; c'est celui qui donne l'accord parfait majeur médiante sur la tonique LA et qui est à un ton mineur du

1. Cette dièse ne vaut guère qu'un quart de ton. [Note margina manuscrit.]

En second lieu, il y a dans les solfèges l'*ut dièse* de la série d dominantes qui est à un ton majeur du SI; cette dièse dépasse précédente d'un comma, et elle ne vaut guère plus que la moit du ton mineur.

Enfin, il y a l'*ut dièse* de la série des médiantes des accor parfaits mineurs du ton de LA. Mais comme, dans la gamm majeure en UT, cette série devient celle des dominantes, on a la véritable dièse théorique du solfège, celle sur laquelle repose notation. Cette dièse est d'ailleurs presque rigoureusement ide tique avec le demi-ton majeur et, par suite, dépasse sensibleme la moitié du ton majeur.

Comme il y a trois dièses distincts, il y a aussi trois bémols q ont chacun la même valeur qu'une dièse. Or, on dispute enco sur la position relative d'une note diésée par rapport à sa secon bémolisée; la première chose à faire serait de définir les dièses les bémols dont on parle.

(Extrait de la *Revue archéologique*, 1911, t. I, pp. 41-50.)

NOTE

SUR

ANONYMI FRAGMENTUM DE REVOLUTIONIB

PUBLIÉ PAR CH.-E. RUELLE[1].

Le fragment « Sur les périodes écliptiques » est rem

1° Par les connaissances mathématiques dont l'a preuve.

2° Par une mention précise relative au rôle du Chal nas dans l'invention des périodes écliptiques.

3° Par deux longues citations empruntées à des aute rieurs à Ptolémée, un Artémidore (qui ne peut donc de Parium, ni même, semble-t-il, celui de Daldis, cont de Ptolémée), et Apollinarios.

Il semble impossible de faire descendre ce fragmen l'époque de Théodore de Melitène, car il ne renferme auc de connaissance de l'astronomie persane ou arabe, et il teux que les ouvrages d'Artémidore ou d'Apollinarios s sent au treizième siècle. Théodore de Melitène ne connaît c Cidénas et les autres astronomes chaldéens que par ce q bon en a dit.

La langue et la valeur du fragment permettent bien p le faire remonter au cinquième ou au sixième siècle. I

1. Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum, t. VIII, f. 2, pp.

appartenir à un commentaire sur la Syntaxe de Ptolémée. S'il ne se retrouve dans aucun des textes publiés par Halma sous les noms de Théon, d'Hypatie et d'Héraclius, s'il n'est pas tiré des commentaires inédits de Théon sur les Πρόχειροι Κανόνες, ce qui, à la rigueur, est possible, je ne crois pas qu'il soit opportun, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, de proposer une attribution pour laquelle manquent les éléments nécessaires.

(Note insérée dans le *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, t. VIII, fasc. 2, Bruxelles, 1911, p. 125).

L'ÉVOLUTION DES GAMMES AN

(ŒUVRE POSTHUME)

1. Ce que l'on connaît le mieux de la musique de
sans contredit, leur théorie des intervalles mu
même dire que c'est le seul point qui soit convenable
ex professo dans les écrits des auteurs anciens qu
dons sur la musique. Cependant, l'histoire du dév
cette théorie est ordinairement exposée d'une fa
trop simpliste.

On oppose deux écoles; d'une part, les aristoxé
fessionnels (μουσικοί proprement dits), s'appuyant
sur la pratique; de l'autre, celle des pythagoric
ciens, cherchant à établir des relations mathémat
entre les longueurs des cordes correspondant aux
gamme.

Ceux qui ont approfondi, sur les textes, l'étude d
n'ignorent point qu'elle ne se présente pas exactement
forme. Je me propose de préciser les points que l'on
mon sens, considérer comme acquis, avant de pour
cussion sur l'évolution qui a réduit les gammes antiq

Tout d'abord, les professionnels doivent être mis à part; ils ont sans doute constamment accordé leurs instruments d'après leur oreille et en se souciant aussi peu, à cet égard, des théories aristoxénienne ou pythagoricienne que nos artistes modernes se soucient en réalité du tempérament ou de la gamme des physiciens.

Aristoxène est un théoricien aussi absolu à son point de vue (celui de la gamme tempérée) que les mathématiciens des gammes numériques; mais il n'y a point d'indices suffisants qu'il y ait eu lutte entre deux écoles théoriques distinctes. Aristoxène ne veut rien savoir des rapports mathématiques correspondant aux accords, et ce n'est point contre les *canoniciens,* mais bien contre les professionnels qu'il polémise. Il a été souvent copié par la suite, parce que sa nomenclature est commode et n'exige point de connaissances mathématiques; mais les mêmes compilateurs ont également copié les *canoniciens,* et d'ailleurs les principes de la nomenclature d'Aristoxène ont été évidemment empruntés par lui aux professionnels.

Ce qui nous est parvenu des *canoniciens* ne révèle pas davantage une polémique contre une théorie opposée; ils restent sur un terrain bien limité; leur position est analogue à celle des physiciens modernes vis-à-vis des musiciens professionnels; d'autre part, ils exposent un système unique, exclusivement fondé sur la connaissance des rapports numériques correspondant aux accords de quinte, quarte et octave. C'est le système qui se trouve déjà développé dans le *Timée* de Platon; à ce titre, ils sont beaucoup plutôt platonisants que pythagorisants.

D'après la tradition, les anciens pythagoriciens avaient admis, pour les intervalles musicaux, un principe *a priori* beaucoup

d'Archytas; il se développe dans celles d'Ératosthène enfin de Ptolémée. Son application se fait, en parti procédés purement arithmétiques, en partie d'après auxquels a conduit l'expérience. Il y a eu là éviden une école proprement dite, au moins une successic ciens qui ont poursuivi ce qu'ils croyaient ou dis véritable doctrine pythagorique. Ces théoriciens doiv distingués des *canoniciens* classiques; ils ont soum ports numériques, les uns exacts, les autres certain les diverses gammes pratiquées dans l'antiquité, mais ils ont discerné et valablement noté celles d'où son gammes modernes. Ils sont donc les véritables fond gamme des physiciens. Leur travail théorique, à ce lement couronné de succès, a-t-il eu une certaine inf pratique de la musique? N'a-t-il pas consisté, au co constater plus ou moins heureusement l'évolution q sait indépendamment de leur recherches? Les do nous possédons semblent insuffisants pour répondr sion à ce sujet; j'estime cependant qu'il y a plutô pour la seconde hypothèse.

Reprenons maintenant successivement les quatre nous venons d'énumérer; car les thèses que nous a ont besoin soit de certaines confirmations, soit de div ques ayant pour objet d'en préciser le sens et la por

2. D'après Adraste dans Théon de Smyrne (*Mus.*, Hiller), Lasos d'Hermione (vers 500 ans avant notre ère les rapports numériques correspondant aux accords, e pour les tuyaux, c'est-à-dire probablement en vue de tion des flûtes. Ce témoignage est important, parce que pas un pythagoricien; la donnée relative à ses expé partient donc point à la légende, mais doit provenir

sur la musique, mentionné comme le plus ancien. Or, d'après Aristoxène, qui le combat énergiquement à cet égard (éd. Meib., p. 3), Lasos regardait la note (φθόγγος) comme ayant une certaine largeur (πλάτος). Il avait donc posé le véritable principe de la pratique, d'après lequel on ne peut distinguer deux notes dont la différence de hauteur ne dépasse pas une certaine valeur. Ce principe est admis au reste, comme on sait, par les physiciens modernes, qui fixent à $\frac{81}{80}$ le rapport du nombre des vibrations du plus petit intervalle perceptible, qu'ils appellent *comma*. Cette détermination, à vrai dire, a un caractère quelque peu théorique, car il n'est point suffisamment établi que le plus petit intervalle perceptible ait la même valeur, soit pour les différents individus, soit pour le même individu placé dans des conditions physiques différentes, soit simplement d'après la nature des accords. Cependant elle paraît suffisante pour les besoins actuels de la pratique; en tout cas, le principe posé par Lasos est le vrai, et c'est lui qui justifie, dans certaines limites, la température; le fait expérimental est qu'une note donnée par un artiste, avec un instrument à sons fixes ou non, et trouvée juste par l'oreille la mieux exercée, n'a pas une valeur constante et ne se rapproche que plus ou moins de la valeur théorique. Mais les conséquences à tirer de ce fait, et même celles à tirer de la détermination numérique du *comma,* n'ont malheureusement pas été, il faut le reconnaître, convenablement développées par les théoriciens modernes de la musique; ils n'ont abouti qu'à une nomenclature ambiguë et contradictoire et n'ont, sur le point qui nous occupe, réalisé aucun progrès sur les théoriciens de l'antiquité, qui tous ont méconnu la vérité expérimentale.

3. Pour comparer les intervalles musicaux des Grecs à ceux des modernes, il est nécessaire de rappeler les règles classiques

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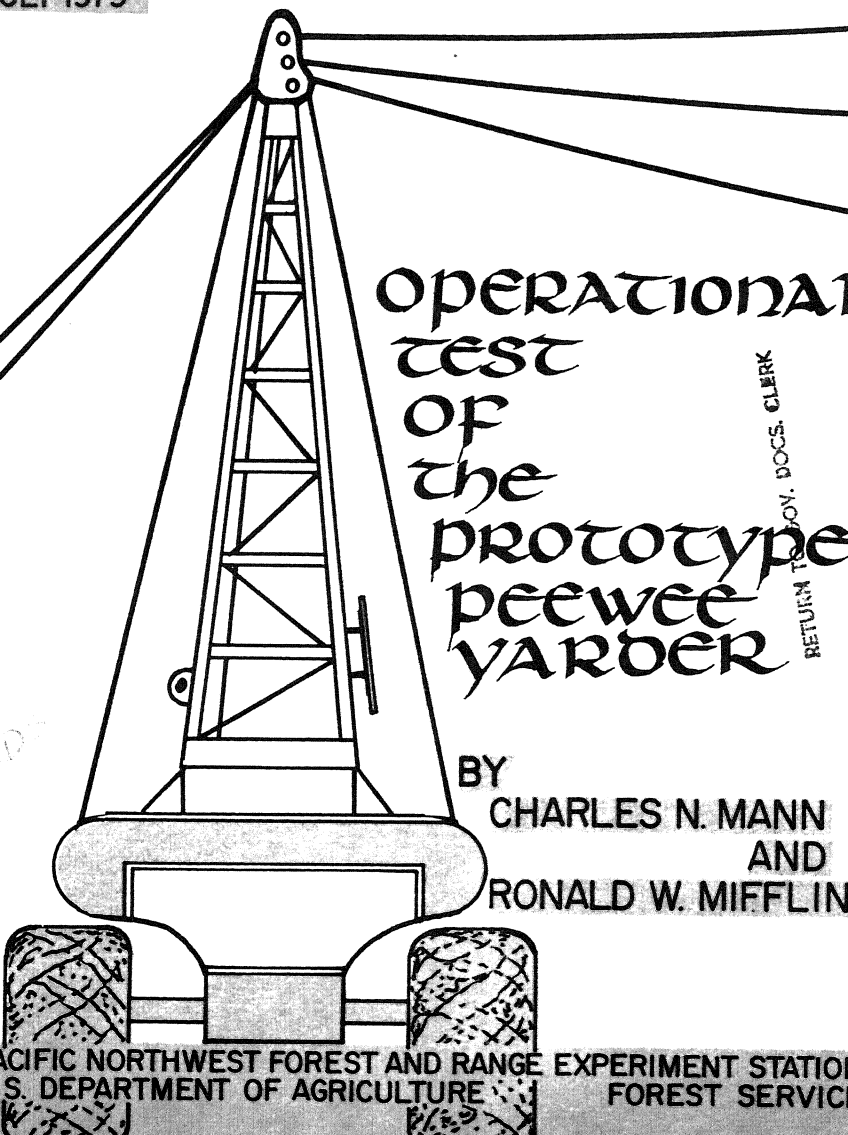

OPERATIONAL TEST OF THE PROTOTYPE PEEWEE YARDER

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BY
CHARLES N. MANN
AND
RONALD W. MIFFLIN

ACIFIC NORTHWEST FOREST AND RANGE EXPERIMENT STATIO
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la; si on prend les anciennes limites de l'octave grecque en partant du *mi,* on a la suite.

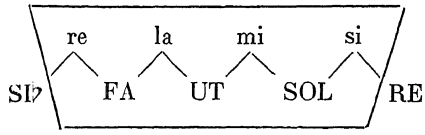
Mèses					Diezeugmènes		
mi	FA	SOL	la =	si	UT	RE	mi
1	16/15	6/5	4/3	3/2	8/5	9/5	2

où les notes ont la même valeur que dans la gamme majeure en *ut*.

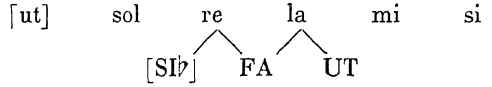
Notre gamme est, en fait, identique avec la nuance syntone du genre diatonique de Ptolémée; dans celle de Didyme, au contraire, la progression des tétracordes est demi-ton majeur, ton mineur et ton majeur. On peut la représenter dès lors comme suit :

Mèses et hyperbolées				Diezeugmènes			
mi	FA	sol	la	si	UT	re	mi
1	16/15	32/27	4/3	3/2	8/5	16/9	2
			la	SI♭	ut	re	
				64/45	128/81	16/9	

Cette fois, il y a identité entre la paranète des diezeugmènes et la nète des synemmènes. Mais par rapport aux notes de notre gamme du mode majeur, le *sol* est, comme le *re,* baissé d'un comma; de plus, il faut distinguer deux *ut* différents d'un comma (trité des diezeugmènes et paranète des synemmènes). Le système de Ptolémée fournit les accords parfaits



celui de Didyme les accords



On voit comment ce dernier système se rapproche des tonalités modernes.

En général, d'après les règles antiques, on aura dans le genre diatonique trois séries de quintes (celles que donnent les synemmènes sont inscrites entre parenthèses)

	(re)	la	mi	si
[si♭′]	fa′	ut′		
		[ut″]	sol″	re″

La gamme mineure en *la*,

la	si	UT	re	mi	FA	SOL	la
1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{6}{5}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{8}{5}$	$\frac{9}{5}$	2

y ajoutant le *SI♭* $\left(\frac{16}{15}\right)$ pour le tétracorde des synemmènes *la ♭ UT re*, paraît indiquée pour représenter la théorie ancienne ; ntefois il faut observer que le tétracorde des synemmènes pro- de par demi-ton majeur, ton majeur, ton mineur, comme celui hyperbolées ; le tétracorde des diezeugmènes procède, au ntraire, par demi-ton majeur, ton mineur et ton majeur. autre part, le *re* de cette gamme n'est pas le *RE* de la gamme mode majeur en *ut ;* depuis la réforme de Rameau, il lui est érieur d'un *comma*. L'accord se rétablirait dans la composition tétracordes, si on haussait le *re* d'un *comma*, à $\frac{27}{20}$. Mais ceci peut être fait que pour la paranète des diezeugmènes, non pour ète des synemmènes. Nous avons donc en réalité dans le sys- e grec une combinaison qui distingue deux *re* et se prête aux modes

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A
la	SI♭	UT	re				
	Synemmènes						
la	si	UT	RE	mi	FA	SOL	la
	Diezeugmènes				Hyperbolées		

La correspondance des lettres du solfège indique d'elle-même quelle est l'origine du *bémol* et du *bécarre*, comment la combinaison du tétracorde des synemménes avec celui des hyperbolées donne la gamme du mode mineur, tandis que celle du mode majeur correspond à l'emploi du tétracorde des diezeugménes avec celui des hyperbolées. Sans accidents, le mode mineur est d'ailleurs représenté par l'octave partant de l'hypate des mèses.

A côté de Lasos d'Hermione, la tradition plaçait, comme ayant fait des expériences sur les rapports numériques correspondant aux intervalles musicaux, son contemporain Hippasos (Théon de Smyrne) et, avant lui, Pythagore[1]. Mais cette tradition ne reposait sur aucun témoignage écrit avant le quatrième siècle ; du moins, les anciens n'ont connu d'Hippasos aucun ouvrage, pas plus que d'aucun autre pythagoricien, sur la matière avant ceux qui ont été attribués à Philolaos et à Archytas. Le crédule Porphyre n'admet pas l'authenticité du premier ; il reconnaît, au contraire, celle de l'ouvrage d'Archytas. Nous verrons qu'il y a de fortes présomptions en faveur de cette double opinion. Les témoignages relatifs à Hippasos, s'ils n'ont pas été inventés par Eudoxe, ont pu provenir d'Archytas, peut-être par Eudoxe. En tout cas, ils n'indiquent nullement, pas plus que ceux relatifs à Pythagore, que l'un ou l'autre ait dépassé la reconnaissance de rapports concernant l'octave, la quinte et la quarte, c'est-à-dire ceux qui sont nécessaires et suffisants pour construire le canon des cordes fixes, mais qui ne permettent point de l'étendre aux cordes variables, à moins d'études expérimentales plus approfondies sur les intervalles du tétracorde. Sans doute, il peut paraître

1. Porphyre (qui est lui-même fait les expériences, ou, comme semble le dire Jean Lydus, est d'accord avec les Babyloniens la proportion numérique
6 : 8 : 9 : 12
ou la [illegible]

simple, par exemple, d'identifier le ton majeur $\frac{9}{8}$, diff
la quarte à la quinte, avec les deux tons supposés
diatonique syntone d'Aristoxène; mais cette circonstan
chytas ne semble encore connaître qu'un diatonique
particulier, celle qu'il introduit les facteurs premiers 5
les rapports numériques, montrent bien que la questio
pas si claire au milieu de la grande variété des gamm
quées pour que Pythagore ou Hippasos aient déjà con
système diatonique du *Timée;* cette construction n'était
ment pas de tradition chez les anciens pythagoricien
Philolaos, par exemple, y était arrivé, il faut admettre
chytas n'a pas connu son écrit [1].

[1. M. Th. Reinach a eu la bonté de revoir la partie techniqu
article.]

[Œuvre posthume, publiée ici pour la première fo

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de l'écriture de PAUL TANNERY

Monsieur,

Le sujet de thèse que vous m'indiquez
intéressant ; mais principalement parce qu'il m
de l'avancement absolu jusqu'à présent, com
le remarque M. Affolter est peut être de la
bien malheureux.

Il me paraît essentiel de distinguer deux q
A) celle des rapports de la musique avec l'arch
et de l'influence que l'un exerce sur l'autre dans la progr
(Combé de Lisle) B) celle de l'influence m
exercée par les artistes sur l'architecture, hybrid
engendrant peut être des monstres. Je ne vous conse
de traiter ce dernier chapitre qui me paraît être d'un
inquiétant, et il me semble que l'époque est bien
vôtre jeune, tout de travail et d'avenir.

Si vous vous proposez d'étudier le premier
de vous, je vous donne pour les musiciens
très (trop) nombreux sur les mythographes
et sur la lyre. Il y a aussi, très nombreux, des écrits
sur l'architecture. Mais pour
sur quelques monuments ou époques, mais
2) on a très peu écrit sur la partie [illegible]

n'ajouterai que les études (recueillies) que j'ai poursuivies sur le Pythagorisme et dont je n'ai encore (guère) publié jusqu'ici que ce qui me conduisait à obtenir journellement l'appui sur les connaissances attribuées à Pythagore ou à son école. Ainsi j'en crois plus à l'authenticité des fragments de Philolaos.

L'invention des rapports numériques entre les longueurs de cordes en accord n'est attribuée à Pythagore que par une légende très contestable, un passage de Théon de Smyrne, que vous trouverez facilement, attribue des recherches de genre au musicien Lasos d'Hermione;

En résumé je suis porté à croire que la plus grande partie de ce que Jamblique, Porphyre, etc attribuent à Pythagore est postérieure à Platon, que le pythagorisme scientifique (sauf pour la géométrie) est une création d'Aristoxène de Tarente et Héraclide du Pont d'Heraclée